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as a masked clown. Although the impersonation of I'itoi is scarcely recognizable, Navitcu is always dramatically represented, with kilt, white buckskin mask, and topknot of turkey feathers. He appears at the prayer-stick festival, entering from the north "which is his home," and uttering shrill, unintelligible cries. He has healing powers and will come at other times if you sprinkle corn meal upon the ground, for "he was the first who taught the people to do that." It is also stated that "he brought us the squash and, some say, the corn, too." Navitcu has obvious likenesses to a Pueblo kachina or a Pueblo clown. In fact, both he and his ceremony, the prayer-stick festival, show such obvious Pueblo affiliations that the subject will be discussed in another publication.

Other supernaturals who appear in ceremony, but not in myth, are the rain beings in the four directions. These are not impersonated or, in fact, even named. They are spoken of as "he, my guardian," the word being the same as that used for a ceremonial father. It is not used for other supernaturals and applies only to these nameless beings, who live in "rain houses" on the mountains and are approached by means of tobacco smoke. Obviously they are to be identified with the Pueblo "chiefs of the directions" [10] and with the Aztec *tlaloc*. In fact a ceremonial speech made to them almost duplicates an Aztec prayer quoted by Sahagún.[11]

Last among the supernaturals, though most important in daily life, come the guardian spirits.[12] They, also, are absent from the origin myth, though one ceremonialist accounted for them, as an afterthought, by saying that they must be the survivors of the first flood, who turned into animals. They, with their supernatural powers, decide the fate of the average man. They can procure food where man would starve. They can burrow into the ground and fly into the air, sheltering themselves and avoiding danger, where man is an awkward target. These are powers that the desert man needs, and he feels that if the animals are friendly they will bestow them upon him. It is true that these same animals have been or-

[10] Parsons, 1939, pp. 170–73.

[11] Sahagún, 1880, pp. 344–45.

[12] Russell says nothing about guardian spirits among the Pima. In view of the firm establishment of this belief among the Papago, it is easier to suppose that the Pima have lost it through acculturation than that they never had it.

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Papago records are full of accounts of the lynching of shamans whose power had turned destructive, perhaps without their knowledge. I'itoi himself was killed in just this way. It may be suggested that the story of the "dying god," shared by the Papago with several California tribes, is, in fact, a magnified picture of shaman killing reflecting actual practice among the peoples concerned.

CONTACT WITH THE SUPERNATURALS

Contact with the supernaturals was achieved by two methods that differ so much that they amount to separate religious systems. On the one hand was a calendric round of ceremonies, conducted by a priestly hierarchy and bringing blessing to the whole community. It was a system of group control, in which the average man made no individual approach to the supernatural and received no individual power. He danced as directed, and he helped with the manual work of a ceremony, but he had no other responsibility. The blessing he received was the general one of well being for his village.

Opposed to this was the democratic concept of the guardian spirit, opening the power quest to everyone. Formerly a Papago expected no success in life unless he had met some spirit tutelary who had given him a song for use in time of need. Old tales do not speak of heroes by name, but rather as hawk meeter, Coyote meeter, crane meeter. The conquest of the great houses is explained by the statement: "They could do nothing against us, we had so many meeters."

One such system has usually been enough for an Indian group— as communal ceremonies were for the Pueblos, and the vision for the Plains. With the Papago the two seem to have been almost equally developed. However, each had a distinct function. Communal ceremonies brought rain and therefore food; they have been spoken of here as "food ceremonies." Vision experiences brought power for individual achievements; the rites which set the seal on such achievements have been referred to as "power ceremonies." Different as the two were, both in purpose and in procedure, they were oriented to one final end, the acquisition of rain. Even in-

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most usual one places extreme emphasis on the last word of a sentence or phrase, generally the verb, while all the others are pronounced in a barely audible monotone. This is used for all speeches except the "wise" ones connected with the salt pilgrimage. The latter are in two parts. The introduction describes the approach, through tobacco smoke, to "Him, my guardian," and is pronounced like the average ritual speech. When the smoke has done its work and the suppliant finds himself before the supernatural, there begins a form of delivery peculiar to the salt ritual. This is the "throwing words," a monotonous panting, in a low voice and on the same note, separating the syllables and giving to each equal value. A similar form of delivery is mentioned among Yuman peoples for all ceremonial speeches, notably those for war.[11]

A ceremony may also include an informal speech of admonition made by some prominent man on the practical phases of the gathering. At the rainmaking feast the people were urged not to misbehave while drinking; at the war preparation they were reminded how necessary it was to avenge their dead relatives. These talks were akin to long monologues addressed by a father to his children and by the keeper of the smoke at the council meeting. Such long-winded sermons were an institution in the area,[12] and they occur as far south as the Aztec,[13] where they are expected to be "a thing rare and elegantly composed—like a precious stone." [14]

With the Papago these talks fall from the high poetic heights of the rituals, and their proseiness shows the impromptu manner of their composition. However, they were not composed anew for each occasion. The same man was appointed speaker from year to year, and he finally standardized his speech, so that ultimately most of his hearers knew it by heart. The style of delivery for these prose sermons was like that of the war speeches, with emphasis on the last word of a sentence, but they were not recited in the low voice of rituals. The audience was meant to listen and the writer has heard them shouted at the top of a speaker's lungs.

[11] Forde, p. 209; Spier, p. 168.

[12] Forde, pp. 28, 209; Maricopa, Spier, p. 138; California, Kroeber, p. 501; Navajo, Apache, Reichard, p. 109.

[13] Sahagún-Jourdanet, II., pp. 330–90.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 432.

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49. Dizziness I see;
High up there I see it.
Truly, I like it.
Yonder they lead me;
Dizziness they give me to drink.(3)

50. Are you going to make me a shaman?
Here you lead me by the hand.
Inside all the mountains you take me.
I know not what I am saying.(27)

51. I know not [what I am doing];
I know not [what I am doing].
Ha'iya!
At the foot of Plumed Mountain
Drunk!
I know not what I am doing!
Late at night, I am running around.
I know not what I am doing!
I know not what I am doing!(13)

The following song was sung by a woman who went off with a handsome man at a drinking festival, deserting her children. He took her to Kamatk and left her.

52. My poor children!
Badly I treated you.
To little Kamatk he brought me.
Badly I treated you.(20)

As indicated by some of these songs, sexual license was often a feature of the drinking. It was not a ceremonial obligation, and many men kept their wives at home.

When I was a young girl, I always wanted to go to the drinking feasts. But my father said: "Stay home. When you have a husband perhaps he will take you. But if he does not, then you are to obey him." And I was lucky. My husband always took me with him, while his two brothers made their wives stay at home. He led me by the hand to keep me safe.(26)

But certain unmarried women wandered about alone from feast to feast, living temporarily with any man who wanted them.[1] Such

[1] Underhill, 1939, pp. 183-84.

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behavior may have been an old institution in that area, for the writer heard of light women among the Mohave, and Sahagun gives a long description of them among the Aztecs.[9] The Pima sang of their lure and even considered that they brought a special blessing.[10] For the Papago man, free at this time of license, they constituted one of the high lights of the feast, and many songs celebrate them.

SONGS OF THE LIGHT WOMEN

53. The heart of the light woman
Comes out of her.
Far yonder it is running about.
All through the long night it is running,
Giving her light.(13)

54. The little playful women!
The little playful women!
Whence got they dizziness?
Therewith they made my heart drunk.
The little playful women!
When they are dizzy,
Surely they will take me.(20)

55. Dizzy women
Are seizing my heart;
Westward they are leading me.
Ah, but I like it!
One on each side, they are leading me.(20)

Sung by a light woman.

56. A dizzy man seizes me
Yonder he leads me.
In my way darkness falls
I know not [what I do].(20)

Drinking lasted until the liquor was exhausted. This meant about twenty-four hours, during which the men of the village galloped their horses from house to house, wherever there was a supply. In former days dandies were said to prepare for the drinking

[9] Sahagún, Seler, tr. Neunter Abschnitt, b, 7, p. 66, and Jourdanet Book X, chap. xv, p. 16.

[10] Russell, pp. 307, 325. Also information from Dr. Benedict.

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ripe. Then you will take them—not hard it is to do. Here you will bring them. Upon this wretched land we shall see them.(4)

After speaking at the southern opening, the speaker moved around the enclosure counterclockwise, reciting at the east and at the north, and finally he arrived at the west. Here the speech concerned the wild crops, since the wind which fertilizes them is thought to blow from the west.

3. Well have we done by you, my older brothers. Now, here for you stand our offerings. Now you will issue forth. Yonder you will run and will reach the west. There, within the rainhouse are ripe things: ripe amaranth seed, ripe flax seed, ripe grass seed. Then you will take them: not hard it is to do. Here you will bring them. Upon this wretched land we shall see them.(4)

The men then returned to the village and had their evening meal, after which they went to the council house and spent the night in singing. Their songs were from the large group known as "scraping-stick songs," which were accompanied by the scraping stick and the basket drum. Their untranslatable introductory and final phrases were always the same: *hi hianai* [3] *hu* and *hitcia hdhina*. These songs were always associated with rain and growth, though they have been adapted to several different ceremonies, such as the salt pilgrimage, and the cleansing ceremony, whose function is only secondarily the bringing of rain. The use of the scraping-stick songs for all these bends them ultimately to a common purpose. On the other hand, the scraping stick was never used at the actual rainmaking ceremony; there the instrument is the rattle. Rainmaking and growth songs seem to have had different origins.

Herzog, in analyzing Pima scraping-stick songs,[4] which seem to resemble those of the Papago, has found that they are the most highly developed of any possessed by the Pima and differ entirely from the archaic songs connected with curing, deer hunting, and the origin myth. They resemble the corn-grinding songs of Laguna and Zuni. The introductory and final phrases of these Pima [5] songs,

[3] Compare Cochiti *hiawi*, the gift of the cloud spirits. Dumarest, p. 159.
[4] Herzog, 1936, p. 207.
[5] For Pima songs with the same refrain see Russell, pp. 331, 332, 333.

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which are the same as those of the Papago, may be connected with similar syllables found among the Pueblos and the Navajo.

x 196
x 529

SCRAPING-STICK SONGS
(Santa Rosa)
INITIAL SONGS

3. *Hí hianai hu!*
Evening is falling.
Pleasant sounds will reverberate
Our songs.
Hítcia hádhina. (26)

4. *Hí hianai hu!*
Evening falls.
Below [it] we spread feathers.
Black clouds sprinkle.
It rains.

Morning rises
Below [it] we spread feathers.
White clouds sprinkle.
It rains.
Hítcia hádhina!(13)

5. *Hí hianai hu!*
From the eastern rainhouse
The wind blows.
From the eastern rainhouse
Comes the sound of a scraping stick.
Hítcia hádhina!

Hí hianai hu!
From the western rainhouse
The wind blows.
From the western rainhouse
Comes the sound of a scraping stick
Hítcia hádhina!(9)

6. *Hí hianai hu!*
Far away hang the black clouds.
Yonder they hang.
Hítcia hádhina!(12)

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When the dance was over, the elders gathered up the deer bones, the deer tail, and the scraping sticks. They passed the deer tail around the ceremonial basket, which was then taken to its hiding place in the desert. The deer bones and the scraping sticks were laid beside it. The eagle down which the dancers had worn on their heads was also put inside the basket.(1)

At the Mexican village (of Quitovaca) the dance is still performed every August, ten days before the prayer-stick ceremony. There are no speeches, and the deer is not strangled; but there is an elaborate dance with meat hung on a pole, after the manner of the Tarahumara, farther south.[19]

The dance takes place in the daytime, the dancers being twenty girls and twenty boys, with no clan restrictions. The boys' bodies are painted with horizontal lines in white, and the girls' with white splashes. The girls and unmarried men carry nothing in their hands, while the married men have feathered arrows, with which to "beckon the clouds." The line faces east, with married men at the south end, single at the north. The movements are like those at Pisinimo. To the east of the dancers is a pole on which the deer meat is tied in sacks, and when the dancers circle, it is around this pole. Only a few scattered songs were obtained.

30. The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
They have just come forth!(20)Ed.7.

31. The *maam* clan,
The *maam* clan
Here came forth;
From this reddish earth
Came forth.(20)

32. Am I not the cleansing dance?
Am I not the cleansing dance?
This land is covered with green.(20)

33. The wind blows;
Widely it seems to spread.

[19] Bennett and Zingg, p. 279.

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him, pelted him with dried squash stems, which have a sharp calyx. Then they chased both messengers out of the village. Later another messenger was sent, his face being black only from the eyes down. He viewed the race track to see that it was not bewitched, and he, also, was chased out of the village. After this the challengers entered, singing and dancing.[2] The hosts, after the entertainment, gave them food.

The Papago villagers might chase the messengers almost back to the camp of the challengers. That night the women of the challenged village came out to sing for the challengers and to make them welcome. They sang "any songs they could remember," but as lively ones as possible.

SONGS BY WOMEN OF THE CHALLENGED VILLAGE

1. I tied up the wind;
   Far yonder I tied it up.
   On Toad Mountain I sat tying it.
   There, before me, the mountains stood,
   With haze on their summits.(9)

2. Under Baboquiviri
   I lay down to sleep.
   Something frightened me.
   Alarmed, I jumped up,
   Looking in all directions.(9)

Before dawn the dancers from the visiting village painted their bodies and made ready the dance paraphernalia. Then, with blackface messengers at their head and the dancers following, the whole

[2] Santarem, a Jesuit missionary, gives similar details in connection with a challenge to pelota among the Acaxee, about 1600. The contest, in this case, was held on the ball ground of the challenging village. For four nights previously, there was singing which appears to have been a song cycle. It was started each night by two armed warriors who appeared on the walls of the ball court and issued a summons. The people then entered, singing and dancing. On the day of play, these warriors mounted the walls and the villagers entered as usual. "As they were about to dance, the visitors came in from one side, dressed and armed as for battle and began to shoot blunt arrows at the two warriors on the walls. The warriors tried to avoid these or ward them off with their shields but they were forced shortly to withdraw and were followed by the dancers, the visitors left in possession of the ground." (Beals, 1933, p. 13.) In both cases it is the challenged side which finally holds the field, though in the Papago case this is the host village, in the Acaxee case, the guest village.

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There was no magic treatment of the runners themselves. The whole effort was to keep them safe behind the lines and guard them from bewitchment by the other side. In some of the last races which informants remembered, the runners were mounted behind men on horseback, who galloped up to the starting point with them at the last moment. The race, with the stick dice and the women's shinny game, lasted all day. At its close, the visitors gathered up their goods and left without ceremony.

The Papago still hold races between villages, though without much ceremony. The skipping dance and the naming songs have been entirely given up except when the former is presented as a spectacle for the whites.

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An Apache speaks.

23. Gila fields lie stretched out yonder.
Eager to see them,
Softly I crept thither,
This my feather headdress shaking.

A Papago speaks, of the Apache.

24. Plumed Mountain stands afar;
Toward it I crept;
A feather headdress
Was shaking.(26)

25. Kill the Apache; kill the Apache!
Dry the skin; dry the skin!
Soften it; soften it!
I am happy with it
A-a a-ah!
But there are still Apaches left.(9) [13]

The last song is used also for the dance around the pole.

After the war dance came the ceremony of purification, described below. Next morning the visitors might perform the visiting dance, or they might contest with the home village at racing or kickball. Sometimes the festivities lasted several days and large amounts of property changed hands during the betting.

WARRIOR'S PURIFICATION [14]

The taking of a scalp or a trophy was the ritual act which brought a man into contact with the supernatural. The mere shooting of an enemy, without touching him, did not have this effect, and a man who was willing to fight, but shunned the ordeal of purification, might hand over his privileges and duties as an enemy slayer to a comrade. The leader sometimes instructed his men before starting: "If you wish to become an enemy slayer, you will take a scalp; but if not, do not touch the Apache scalps

[13] A similar Pima song is quoted by Russell, p. 335. Other victory songs on pp. 337–38.

[14] Russell (pp. 204–5) describes a very strenuous purification among the Pima, but gives no speeches for it. In his account the warrior and his guardian wander about for sixteen days instead of sitting and waiting for a vision.

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Then in his breast he put his hand and brought forth seed: 317
White seed, blue seed, red seed, smooth seed. 484
Then did I fold it tight and grasp it and rush forth. 639

I saw the land did sloping lie.
Before I had gone far the wind did follow and breathe upon me.
Then, down at the foot of the east there moved the clouds,
And from their breasts the lightning did go roaring.
Though the earth seemed very wide,
Straight across it fell the rain
And stabbed the north with its drops.
Straight across it fell the rain
And stabbed the south with its drops.
The flood channels, lying side by side,
Seemed many;
But the water from all directions went filling them to the brim.
The ditches lying side by side
Seemed many;
But the water along them went bubbling.
The magicians on the nearby mountains
Went rushing out, gathering themselves together.
The storm went on and on.
It reached the foot of the west, it turned and faced about.
It saw the earth spongy with moisture.

Thus beautifully did my desire end;
Thus perchance will you also feel, my kinsman.(5)

This speech, unlike most of the other orations and narratives, does not refer to anything in the origin myth. The "guardian" is not Elder Brother, and informants, when asked about him, could supply no further information: "the words of the speech were *given*." But an Aztec prayer quoted by Sahagún [7] and addressed to the Tlalocs, or rain gods, has phraseology that is strikingly similar. /7/

No one has been able to escape the suffering and tribulation of the present famine. The animals and the birds themselves are in need on account of the great drought. It is pitiable to see the birds, of whom some have their wings falling and dragging on the earth as a result of

[7] Sahagún, Jourdanet, pp. 346-48.

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171 their privations. Others fall and cannot stand on their feet. Others have their mouths open, panting to eat and drink.

As for the other animals, O Lord, it is grievous to see them walking and falling down with weakness, licking the earth, their tongues hanging out, their gullets open, panting with hunger and thirst. . . .

It is grievous, O Lord, to see everywhere the surface of the earth dry and unable to produce either grass or tree or anything which may serve for nourishment.

317 484 x639 The Aztec has no parallel to the vivid Papago description or the desert and the hut. The phrases quoted, if they are indeed a heritage from some Nahua prayer have undergone many permutations before inclusion in the salt ritual.

[184] Santa Rosa gives an abbreviated version of the same material.

SALT SPEECH IN CAMP

6. Thus was my desire.
Then hastily I ate the food which my wife had cooked;
Hastily I took my child in my arms.
"What is it?
What has he learned that he is acting thus?
The day has dawned when I must go."

Begin "throwing words."

Ready!
Then forth I stepped upon the west-lying road.
Utterly weary I was when evening fell.
Then I pushed together the remaining embers of my fire.
Beside them, with head bowed, I sat.
Within my pouch I thrust my hand
And brought forth my reed joint [cigarette].
I stood it up [in the fire, to light it];
I wet it.
Strongly I breathed out upon the west-lying road.
I asked of him, my guardian, many kinds of power.
I asked to be hunger enduring, thirst enduring, cold enduring.
I asked for swift-leaping legs,
Strong-grasping hands,
Keen eyes.
Four times the dawn poured over me

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on them and their families a disease called yellow vomit. The writer has not identified this disease, but has found it frequently mentioned by old Spanish writers as a pest of the country. The Papago say: "It comes from the smell of the ocean or the smell of the Apache. The Whites don't know that: that's why they have it so much."(9)

The length of the period of seclusion varied. At Komarik it was one month the first time, then four days.(9) At Akchin, eight days the first time, then four.(6) At Pisinimo it was sixteen days, with a move nearer the house after every four.(1) At Anegam it was four days away from the house, with diet restrictions for four days after the return.(5)

In any case, after each four-day period the neophyte was bathed by his guardian in cool water. His face was not blacked as for purification after war, but otherwise he was under the same restrictions. He was not allowed to eat meat, salt, or grease. He must not look at the sun or go near the fire. For the first day and night, until after the public purification, he was allowed no fire at all. Afterward he could have a small one, but he must fan, not blow it.(6) Every four days the dishes he had used were thrown away, each being "killed" by making a hole in the bottom, and new ones were provided by the women of the family. The women cooked for him, but on a separate fire, or a separate part of the fire, where none of the family food had been cooked. He must use the scratching stick—according to some, the same which he had brought from the ocean, according to others, a new one every four days. His wife was under no restrictions.[12]

Neophytes generally made their first pilgrimage at sixteen or seventeen, and this experience placed them within the ranks of adults. The seclusion during purification was the time when the fathers of eligible girls often approached the parents of neophytes to offer their daughters.

[12] This pilgrimage has obvious likenesses to the simpler ones made by Zuni (Stevenson, 1901–2, pp. 354–360; Acoma (White, 1929–30, p. 139); Laguna (Parsons, 1923, p. 226); Cochiti (Goldfrank, p. 9); and Hopi (Beaglehole, "Notes on Hopi Economic Life," Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 15, pp. 52–55). It also has many points in common with the Huichol expedition to gather *hikuli or peyote* (Lumholtz, 1900, pp. 126–236 and 268–280).

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10

EAGLE KILLING

THE third road to power was the killing of an eagle. This was almost equivalent to taking a scalp, for the eagle, like the enemy, was a powerful shaman. The tale of the first dangerous eagle and of his subjugation by I'itoi has its place in the origin myth, before the emergence of the Papago from underground.

A monster eagle lived in a mountain cave, where he took a woman to live with him and had a child. From the cave he flew down daily to the settlements and carried off the inhabitants for his food.

I'itoi was appealed to. He promised to come in four days, but actually came in four years. Then he made various incomprehensible stipulations as to the weapons which were to be provided him. Finally the people guessed his desires and gave him an obsidian knife and a number of sticks of hard wood. He drove the sticks into the rock cliff and mounted on them to the eagle's cave. There he turned himself into a fly and waited until the eagle was asleep. With the help of the woman, he cut off the head of the monster and of his child. Then he revived the dead victims.

After the victory he placed the eagle feathers in a basket which is kept by "the one section of the Ancient People still in Papagueria," the inhabitants of Kaka. But he was sick from the power of the feathers and so taught the people the process of purification. He then promised that anyone who killed an eagle in the future should have power, but he must go through the same purification. A hawk would give power also, but in less degree.[1]

[1] The Pima have the same story of the monster eagle (Russell, pp. 219–21). There is no statement about eagle killing or purification, but Russell mentions curing with eagle songs (p. 269) as the Papago eagle killer does.

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shaman began to think about his pay and some introduced hints into their songs. One is reported to have sung:

Don't give me beads,
I am not young and handsome.
Give me a horse; a horse!

A horse or cow was the usual pay, and the family generally brought in a piece of manure to indicate what it would be. If diagnosis were difficult, the shaman might have to sing on other nights (four was the ritual number) before he earned his pay. Usually before dawn he announced what curing singer must be sent for, or else he himself sucked out the disease object. Some shamans did not suck, "because they did not have it in their dreams." They merely recommended that another shaman be called.

If the specialists he had recommended produced no result, a shaman would diagnose again, without further pay. He might thus recommend several curing singers in succession, and if all failed, the blame was not theirs, but his. That such happenings were not infrequent is evidenced by the Papago slang term for shaman, which is "liar."

THE FEMALE SHAMAN

The myths occasionally mention a female shaman who was powerful and whose magic succeeded where that of her male colleagues had failed. In practice, the writer heard of but few female shamans, and these held a very subordinate position. Denied any connection with shamanism until after childbearing age, women often became herbalists[6] and then drifted into a limited shamanism by means of a vision or two. As with white women doctors, circumstances often pushed them into specializing in children's diseases.

One woman known to the writer practiced a peculiar form of therapy which might have seemed her own idiosyncrasy had it not turned out to be an ancient Aztec practice.[7] This was pressing on

[6] See p. 30. [i.e., read p. 370.—Ed.] [7] Sahagún, Seler, p. 366.

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757 the palate of an infant. Pressure was supposed to close the fonta-
171 nelle, "because it was soft and it was making the child sick." The Aztec woman held the child upside down for the same reason.

SORCERY[8]

754 If the shaman's diagnosis or his treatment failed, he was open to the charge of murder by sorcery. Such an idea was never far from the Papago mind, and the early Jesuits found it rampant.

> The whole country is given over to witchcraft. . . . Many fatal illnesses and sudden deaths are due to witchcraft. . . . Witches even kill each other.[9] In all the ranches or villages there have always been one or more sorcerers.[10]

[683] The result has been many a shaman clubbed to death or shot by a surreptitious arrow, with the consent and sometimes the thanks of the village authorities.

The San Xavier calendar stick [11] recording the events of eighty years mentions several such occurrences, generally as the result of an epidemic or drought. "They found it was an evil shaman who was causing the trouble, so they killed him." Shamans were suspected of burying fire in the earth, thus turning away the clouds, and preventing rain. They might swallow burning coals, spit out fire, and cause disease. They might put poison into a coyote, which would go mad and spread rabies. They might send darkness over a patient so that the crystal of the officiating shaman could not penetrate it and show the cause of disease. Or they might swallow the poison of a rattlesnake or gila monster and blow it over patients when they blew saliva, ostensibly as a cure.

No one could tell when a shaman's power might cause him to act in this way, for it happened sporadically and perhaps without his own volition. The change brought no material gain, for people ceased to employ him. Nor did he attain sovereignty over the souls of those he killed, like the Mohave shaman, or the help of evil spirits like the European witch. His power from his animal guardian remained what it had always been, but, perhaps because

[illegible]

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the leader of a ceremony rendered this service, since he "owned" the rituals. Illness was thought to have been caused by the ceremony itself, in punishment for some disrespect shown by participants or spectators. The remedy was to repeat the performance, or at least part of it, under correct conditions.

Thus the hunt chief could recite his speeches for one sick from the cleansing ceremony, or a headbearer might dance in deerhead disguise. An enemy slayer could go through his purification ritual for one suffering from touching enemy possessions or bewitched by the scalps. The requirements of the prayer-stick festival being particularly rigid, many ailments were ascribed to lapses at that time. In fact, such lapses were the shaman's last resort in cases of chronic rheumatism, since the mistake might have been so tiny as to have gone for years unremembered. If it was not of too long standing, a cure might be made by the impersonator of Navitcu, by a group of singers, or even by the little boys in snouted masks who started the song.[2]

FOR DISEASE SENT BY ANIMALS

A different group of singers dealt with diseases caused by animals. Almost any creature could send an illness, from the tiny gray spider to the mountain lion. Usually it was in punishment for some form of disrespect, since the animals, who fed and instructed the human race, were jealous of their prerogatives. They took vengeance on those who demolished their burrows or killed them with unnecessary cruelty. Also, they punished anyone who walked across their tracks, wasted their meat, threw their bones about, or subjected any of their remains to the presence of a menstruating woman. Finally, they were offended by laziness or by any conduct improper in the Papago code.

Each had a disease which it wielded as an instrument of vengeance. Though the symptoms were vaguely classified, they seem-

[illegible]

[2] The Pima, who do not have the prayer-stick festival, nevertheless use the Navitcu impersonation for curing. The impersonator, called by Russell a "Navitcu medicine man," is accompanied by a chorus and by babyishness (equivalent of Papago babyfaces, the little masked boys). They cure a swelling of the knee (rheumatism) which is said by "Navitcu an evil spirit adopted from the Papagos." (Russell, p. 168.)

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753 of as a little old blind man with red-rimmed eyes. He passed
776 people on the road, and the wind blowing from him to them caused trachoma and other eye troubles. A whole series of songs describes *pihuri's* personal habits. No fetish is used. The musical instrument is an especially stout scraping stick of cactus rib with very fine notches.

753 *Pihuri is a great gambler.*
776
x 539 30. Am I not *pihuri, pihuri, pihuri!*
Lo, the playing cards painted;
I like them!
They are like a magnet [to draw winnings].

Pihuri is so old that he even pounds up fresh deer meat before cooking, so that he can chew it.

31. Lo, it is Badger shaman!
At night he runs.
Deer meat he brings.
Lo, it is *pihuri*, the little old man!
The meat he is pounding.(20)

Pihuri has a good metate, which all the girls like to use. Now pihuri has a protégé sleeping in the house, and the girls are afraid of him, so grinding is heard in all the other houses, except pihuri's.

32. Lo, I am *pihuri's* little familiar.
I lie in the house.
That is what you [girls] are afraid of.
Are you afraid of me
Around me in all [the houses]
There is the sound of grinding.
In all [the houses]
There is the sound of grinding.(20)

776 Some informants thought that *pihuri* was a plant which took
human form. It is supposed to be an intoxicant, and there is some mysterious connection between it and the deer. The Pima are said to consider it a tree growing in Mexico.[1] These scraps of information suggest a connection between *pihuri* and the Huichol *hikuli*, peyote. It is possible that they represent a few vague rumors of

[1] Russell, p. 79. Russell also speaks of "Pihuli" as an evil spirit (p. 68).

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THE PRAYER-STICK FESTIVAL

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IN the course of the foregoing descriptions numerous likenesses to Pueblo procedure have appeared. They are so scattered that assembling them would not lead to any definite conclusion, unless equal attention were devoted to the whole area from the Basin to northern Mexico. However, there is one Papago ceremony which shows such constant and detailed similarities that it seems worth while to note them in the same volume with the description of the ceremony itself. This is the *wiikita*, or prayer-stick festival.

Certain features of the *wiikita* can, indeed, be found in north Mexico, as they can in the Pueblos. Impersonations of the sun and the moon, for instance, were used by the Cora;[1] child actors by Cora,[2] Tepecano[3] and Yaqui.[4] Masked clowns were known to Yaqui and Mayo.[5] Prayer sticks and corn meal were used in Mexico, and other elements of the festival may once have been used, though there is little evidence on the subject now.

Yet these resemblances are general ones. When traced down to details, the moon impersonation, the child actors, and the clowns are not much like those of the Papago. When we turn to the Pueblos, however, the opposite is the case: the more details we obtain, the closer grows the parallel. True, the *wiikita* as a whole

1 Preuss, op. cit., p. VIII. This represents the Moon goddess, Sun being no longer impersonated, though described in song (p. 327).
2 Hall, op. cit.
3 Lumholtz, op. cit., p. 95.
4 Observed by the writer with the Yaqui group at Tucson.
5 Parsons and Beals, op. cit., pp. 500-509.

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cannot be matched with any one Pueblo ceremony. Yet individual costumes, officiants, and rites *can* be matched, in case after case. Given such clear similarity between the Papago and certain Pueblos, notably those of the Hopi, it seems far-fetched to assume that both are reflecting some vanished prototype. More logically, we might suspect an actual borrowing between the two regions, and that at not too remote a time. Since archaeological findings now reveal a good deal of movement in both directions just previous to the historic period, this supposition may not be impossible.

The Papago prayer-stick festival is held at only two places: Archie in the north and Quitovaca in the south. According to the origin myth these places were selected by I'itoi, after he had led the people from underground. He planted prayer sticks at these two spots, in the Pueblo manner[4] and instructed the people to come back to these points and hold the prayer-stick festival. This bit of geographic lore may have no more value than any other justification by myth. Yet it might be of interest were it decided that the Piman population is actually a mixed one, including some immigrants from the north along with the so-called Hohokam stock.

The two prayer-stick festival ceremonies thus instituted are not very similar, yet each has decided Pueblo parallels. The festival at Archie, the more elaborate of the two, takes place every four years, in December. At that time Archie, a "field" village, is deprived of water and normally deserted. Had the *wiikita* been a sort of super-harvest feast, as previous writers have called it, we should expect it to occur at a more convenient time and nearer to harvest. However, its avowed aim, in addition to the usual one of rain and crops, is "to keep the world in order." This is the purpose of a Pueblo solstice ceremony, and the *wiikita* comes as near to the winter solstice as to harvest.

The Archie festival, which takes immense preparation, has its own set of hereditary officials, quite apart from the village leaders who are in charge of other communal ceremonies. These men, here spoken of provisionally as "director" and "sub-directors," are

[4] Russell, 1908, p. 166.

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alluded to obliquely by the Papago as *ha'itcu* (Something), the term used for the heads of Hopi ceremonies.[7] Before their duties begin, they go into retreat, as do the heads of Pueblo ceremonies,[8] but their desert version of this practice is to leave the village and camp alone by a small fire. Having no ceremonial room, they make the preparations for the feast in a temporary shelter, but the rules followed there are the usual Pueblo restrictions. They and the men helping them do not go home, which is to say, they observe continence.[9] Helpers on their ceremonial errands run, as do planters of prayer sticks in the Pueblos and the Hopi messengers to Sun House.[10] They observe, too, a common Hopi rule for silence or very low voices.[11]

Clowns, corn-meal sprinklers, song composers, even the man who paints the singers,[12] are also hereditary officers. We might liken the status of these helpers to that of the firemaker in some Hopi kivas, who must always be of the Badger clan, the waterbearer, from the Water clan, or the sand bringer from the Sand clan.

The corn-meal sprinklers form a particularly close link with the Pueblos and do not appear at any other Papago ceremony. True, the Papago place corn meal in the hand of a shaman or a ceremonialist when they request his services. Still, the lavish public sprinkling of corn meal occurs only at the *wíikita*. The meal strewn there in the path of dancers corresponds with the making of a corn-meal "road" in the pueblos,[13] though the Pueblo "road-maker" had a much more important position than his Papago counterpart. With the Hopi, such a man was an initiated member of *powamu*;[14] at Zuñi, a medicine society member; at Jemez and the Keresan Pueblos a member of a clown society; and at Domingo, the war captain.[15] With the Papago the corn-meal sprinkler had no other necessary duty or connection, a further proof, perhaps, that the function was an unusual one. The night running of corn-meal sprinklers from village to village can be

[7] Information from Dr. Kennard.
[8] Parsons, 1939, pp. 428–33, 437–38.
[9] Cf. Parsons, 1939, p. 428, 1933, p. 67.
[10] Parsons, 1939, p. 394.
[11] Parsons, 1939, p. 435; Dorsey and Voth, I, 40.
[12] Cf. Parsons, 1939, p. 400, "Arraying the impersonation of a kachina chief is an important function, vested in a lineage (Hopi) or in a cult society (Zuñi)."
[13] Dorsey, 1903–30, p. 495; Parsons, 1939, p. 532.
[14] Voth, 1901, p. 88.
[15] Parsons, 1939, p. 387.

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duplicated at Hopi, where every ceremony has couriers who go from one mesa to another, sprinkling meal to bestow blessing.[16] Specifically at the war chief's ceremony, on Second Mesa,[17] young men in couples, dressed as war gods, run from house to house, pushing doors open to sprinkle, not corn meal, but medicine. These particular runners do not wear the bell, which is today an important part of the Papago costume, but bells were often worn by Hopi ceremonial runners.[18]

The sprinkling of meal on all who enter the Papago work enclosure has similarities to Zuni practice, where anyone entering a ceremonial room to participate sprinkles meal on himself[19] and the *kachinas* in a winter dance series sprinkle meal before them on entering a house.[20] Granted that none of these resemblances are exact, still, they are impressive by their mere numbers, while the same features are entirely absent from other Papago ceremonies.

The Papago corn-meal sprinklers "make the road" for a group of masked and kilted singers, whose function is not hereditary. Shall we liken them to the "poor" men of Zuni, who belonged to no society except the village-wide *kachina* cult? Such masked figures appear nowhere else in Papago ceremonial. They end each song with a *kachina*-like cry, *ku-uh!* They carry evidences of plenty in their deer and mountain effigies as *kachinas* carry corn or bean stalks. Finally, we might adduce their name, *vipinyim*, which seems to mean northerners.[21]

These singers are organized by villages, the usual Papago arrangement, whereas the Zuni *kachinas* are organized by kivas. With this difference, which is a natural result of geography, we find that both groups have directors who drill them and song composers. The Zuni add makers of masks and prayer sticks,[22] whereas the Papago distribute the above duties much more generally.

It would be interesting to have a musical analysis of the *vipinyim* songs. They deal with rain and plenty as *kachina* songs do,

16 Information from Dr. Parsons.
17 Parsons, 1939, p. 594.
18 Stephen, pp. 594, 571.
19 Bunzel, 1929–30, p. 499.
20 Parsons, 1933, p. 180.
21 Russell (p. 318n.) got the same translation.
22 Bunzel, 1930, p. 518.

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but that is characteristic of all Papago songs. These particular compositions, new for the occasion, as *kachina* songs so often are, might give a clue which would suggest the north, as the scraping-stick songs do the south.

The small boys, with their snouted masks, interspersed among the singers, have their parallel at Hopi in the boy *kachina* of Soyal [30] and other small *kachina* dancers,[34] at Zuni in the mischievous "little dancers," [35] occasional boy kiva dancers,[36] and in the *culawitsi* impersonation.[37] Acoma,[38] Laguna,[39] and Isleta [40] also have their small boy dancers,[41] while the child actors of Cora and Tepecano, previously mentioned, are passive representations of the deities, sometimes carried in arms. The Yaqui children, although coming a little closer, are "angels" in a Christianized *matachina* dance.

The *wiikita* corn dancers, dramatizing a local myth, furnish a more distinctly Papago element, a suggestion strengthened by the fact that they act quite independently of the main performance. Their myth, that of the "flood children," has indeed its correlate at Hopi and Zuni,[42] but the tale there is but one incident among many, while, with the Papago it gives rise to an important local cult. At the Archie *wiikita* the young "corn dancers" form the focus of the whole ceremony, the elaborate processions of singers passing before them to do them honor. Something of the same sort takes place at the summer ceremony at Quitovaca. It would be possible to imagine here an imported ceremony, coalescing with local ones and symbolically exchanging civilities in the reciprocal throwing of corn meal.

The step used by the corn dancers may have been a common one in the whole area. It is the usual step in the Pueblos, where the males prance, while the females bob gently up and down, holding symbols in their upright hands. The Papago dancers, a boy and a girl from each moiety, have their duplicates at the Cochiti winter Bow Dance, where performers are a man and a

[30] Dorsey and Voth, I, 26a.
[34] Bunzel, 1932, p. 1077.
[35] Bunzel, 1929-30, pp. 958-61.
[36] Parsons, 1920a, p. 101.
[37] Parsons, 1933, pp. 9-20.
[38] Fewkes, 1894, p. 265.
[39] Parsons, 1923, p. 178.
[40] White, 1929-30, p. 78.
[41] Parsons, 1929-30, p. 333.
[42] See 6pa.

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woman from each moiety, the men holding corn and arrows, the women eagle feathers.[38]

One of the closest connections with the Pueblos is found in the impersonation of Navitcu, the ceremonial clown. His kilt, mask, and shrill cry are in the *kachina* manner, while performers at other ceremonies are maskless and wear a breechclout. Even the name suggests the Pueblos. The Keres have a whole group of "nawiah" who are called on for help in planting[39] and who distribute green corn and melons at the dances.[40] Their costumes are not described, but at Zuni, the clownish Nahalico, or Crazy Grandchild,[41] wears a bag-like goat-skin mask with turkey feathers. Another Zuni *kachina*, Navico,[42] wears squash blossoms as an augury of plenty. A young *kachina*, chosen for a part in the initiation ceremony because he had no other duties, he was bidden to carry corn with him—in fact, to *be* the corn.

The Hopi, too, have a *kachina* who recalls Navitcu, though with a different name. Eototo, who carries corn and beans at the *powamu* ceremony, has a bag-like elk-hide mask.[43] He, with his people, the Bear clan, is said to have left the Hopi on their wanderings and gone to the south, whence they returned much later to Oraibi.[44]

It seems obvious that Navitcu's "northern home" is the Pueblos. However, his relationships are varied, for his personality combines the *kachina* with the ceremonial clown. At the prayer-stick festival there is not one Navitcu but a group of from ten to thirty. They run among the people before the ceremony collecting gifts, like Pueblo clowns and perhaps those of Mexico also.[45] During the dance they caper among the performers. They stage little comedies, satirizing daily life, and here they abandon their shrill cries and even speak. Pueblo clowns indulge in the same buffoonery, but we are reminded particularly of the Zuni *ne'wekwe*, bringers of corn.[46] It was a *ne'wekwe* who pursued the corn maid-

[38] Goldfrank, p. 128.
[39] Boas, pp. 210, 278.
[40] Bunzel, 1929-30, p. 991.
[41] Information from Jimmy Kewánwytewa, Oraibi.
[42] Parsons, 1933, p. 2050.
[43] Bunzel, 1930, pp. 1065-66.
[44] Earle and Kennard, Pl. LV.
[45] Parsons, 1934; also, Zuni, Bunzel, 1930, pp. 274, 524; Tewa, Parsons, 1929, pp. 129, 183; Isleta, Parsons, 1930, p. 303; Mexico, Sahagún Bandelier, pp. 40, 41, 66.
[46] Parsons, 1916, pp. 229-32.

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ens when they had fled from Zuni and found them by planting a cottonwood tree, which grew to the sky. Thus, he escorted them back to Zuni, but Molawia, the name of the festival, which commemorates the achievement, means melons.[43] The Papago Navitcu duplicated the *ne'wekwe* achievement. "The wind blew a beautiful girl up to the top of a cliff (a Papago myth element which has many different endings). The people, after holding a meeting every night, without deciding upon any means of getting her down, called on Navitcu. They sent a man to the north to sprinkle corn meal for him and he came, traveling underground as he always does. He took squash seeds from his heart and planted them at the foot of the cliff. A vine grew up and the girl climbed down it. This is the origin of squash and why we sing to Navitcu when we plant it."(12) Like the *ne'wekwe*,[44] and like many other clown and *kachina* groups, Navitcu can cure. A common explanation of disease among the Papago is the breaking of a ceremonial taboo, and the cure is a repetition of the violated ceremony or of some part of it. But Navitcu, usually spoken of in the singular in spite of his plural manifestation, is a healer *par excellence*. When he appears at the prayer-stick festival, people sit in rows waiting for his touch, and they also call for the impersonation at any time of the year. The function and mask of Navitcu are hereditary in certain families, as are those of the *ne'wekwe*.[45]

The ritually made "fields" among which these clowns disport themselves might well be an enlarged version of the altar made by the Hopi for the god of germination [46] and composed of sand mounds into which are stuck ears of corn and prayer sticks. In fact, at one Walpi solstice performance Fewkes describes an imitation cornfield, with plants on clay pedestals, to be knocked down by the water serpent and then given to the women as an augury of plenty.[48] The usual Pueblo sand altar is referred to sometimes at Isleta as "the village," and at Acoma as "the fields." [47] The making of large sand mounds like those of the Papago occurs, too, at Zuni during *sha'lako*,[48] and scalp ceremonial.[49]

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 396.
[44] Parsons, 1916, p. 229.
[45] Fewkes, 1900, pp. 608-9, 613, 617.
[46] Parsons, 1917, pp. 188-89.
[47] Cushing, 1920, p. 600.
[48] Fewkes, 1920, p. 594.
[49] Information from Dr. Parsons.
[50] Parsons, 1924, p. 9.

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The sun and moon impersonations of the prayer-stick festival also recall the Pueblos. True, these deities are prominent in northern Mexico, and the Cora even impersonate the moon. However, she is a small child, unmasked, while the Papago impersonators are men, their faces concealed by painted masks or shields. The same thing is a feature of the Hopi solstice ceremony, where sun may appear as a man with a shield,[80] a man with a star headdress and a sun disk on a stick, or[81] a man with sun disk mask,[82] but in all cases he makes the same swaying motion as the Papago sun. Except for this solstice ceremony, no impersonation is reported, though girl dancers may wear sun disks on their backs,[83] and many Pueblos use sun drawings or symbols. Moon symbols are rarer, though one appears at the Walpi *palülükonti*.[84]

The summer prayer-stick festival of the Papago lacks a good many of the winter features, though it is in essence a performance of masked singers representing different villages and aided by hereditary clowns. The singers, instead of bearing effigy objects on a platform, are armed with long wands, which recall the Hopi Soyal prayer sticks[85] or the wands of office given to *kachina* impersonators for the Zuni *sha'lako*.[86]

The sprinkling of corn meal at the summer ceremony is a more exact process than in the winter ceremony, for performers must jump to the very spot where the meal is placed. We can find this paralleled in the Zuni *molawia*,[87] where the corn maiden stands on a cross of corn meal, or at Laguna, where the war captain throws meal on the spot to be occupied by the *kachinas*.[88] On any Pueblo altar, too, the place prepared for a sacred object is marked by a cross of corn meal.[89]

The outstanding event of the summer ceremony is the "shooting of the food" by two masked beings, called *kúatcu'k* and Návitcu or, even Nanavitcu, in the plural. A glance at the costumes of Hopi *kachinas* shows their trappings to be much like those of

[80] Fewkes, 1894, pp. 269, 271, 291; Stephen, I, 24.
[81] Dorsey and Voth, I, 54–55.
[82] Fewkes, 1899–1900, pp. 21, 100–101, Pl. XXXVIII.
[83] Parsons, 1933, pp. 378–79.
[84] Fewkes, 1894, p. 291.
[85] Dorsey and Voth, Vol. I, Pl. XVII.
[86] Parsons, 1933, p. 69.
[87] Parsons, 1916, p. 397.
[88] Parsons, 1920a, p. 124.
[89] Bunzel, 1929–30, p. 429.

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Eototo,[60] and the account of Eototo's proceedings at Oraibi *po-wamu* throws much light on their ceremony.[61]

The Hopi Eototo is accompanied by his "partner" the Aholi *kachina*, named from his long cry, *aholi-i-i*. The pyramidal pointed mask and the cloak of skin worn by the latter show no resemblance to the unmasked Papago *kûatcu'k*, but Aholi carries the essential, a long pointed wand. Early in the morning the two Hopi *kachinas* proceed to their clan houses (according to Voth, also to kivas), Eototo in the lead and Aholi following. On the way to each, Eototo pauses silently, four times to make a cloud symbol with corn meal on the ground. Aholi steps on the marks, then, placing the tip of his wand at their central point, he revolves the wand top four times, counterclockwise, uttering his cry. "This is to show that they are acting for the whole world." Arriving at the house, Eototo makes eight horizontal corn-meal marks on its wall, from right to left, and Aholi repeats in the same place. The people give them prayer sticks, and they reciprocate with corn.

The Papago rite is a somewhat reversed version of this, with the wandbearer preceding and the corn-meal sprinkler following. The cry is *kuh-ûh*, a usual *kachina* cry, instead of *aholi*. However, we can hardly mistake the connection between these two rites, not duplicated elsewhere so far as reports go. In this connection the migration legend told by an Oraibi informant is suggestive. This member of Aholi's clan (the corn people), said that during the Hopi wanderings both bear and seed corn people, with their leaders, Eototo and Aholi, turned away to the south. They were absent for many years, and finally Eototo and the bears returned to Oraibi. Aholi had been killed by enemies, but his people at last brought his mask and clothes to Walpi, whence, finally, they arrived at Oraibi.

"Shooting the food" is an added rite which we can find paralleled at the Hopi *marau*,[62] where women, dressed as archers, throw ahead of them a bundle of bean shoots and melons, shoot-

[60] Earle and Kennard, Pl. IV.
[61] Voth, 1901, p. 114; Stephen, I, 170–75; Fewkes, 1899–1900, p. 76, Pl. XIV; Parsons, 1925, p. 46.
[62] Voth, 1912, p. 88.

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ing arrows into it. This, like the Papago shooting, seems a rite of cleansing.

The relationship of the prayer-stick festival to the Pueblos seems clear enough, so its distribution in the Piman area may be of interest. The Salado people settled on the Salt and Gila rivers, now on the Pima reservation. If they brought the ceremony, we should expect to find it more strongly entrenched among the Pima than among even the northern Papago. Evidence on the subject is hard to find, since all Pima ceremonies have lapsed, but perhaps we might consider the statement of Russell,[63] made in 1902: "They have no other ceremonies than an occasional 'rain dance,' the Navico and other ceremonies for the cure of disease." If the Navitcu impersonation, even though used only for curing,[64] has outlasted other ceremonies, it may be possible that its background, the *wĭikita*, was once present also. The writer also questioned a number of Pimas on the subject, and most thought that the ceremony had once existed. The northern Papago who have the festival in its most elaborate form are the neighbors of the Pima and speak a similar dialect. The western Papago, in the purlieus where the Salado people hardly penetrated, do not have it or any memory of it. There remains the southern version. Archaeology has, so far, nothing to say about the area, and that part of the problem remains dark.

[63] Russell, p. 230. [64] See p. 285.

[For a comparison of Papago cultural traits with those of cultures in the surrounding area, see category 116, pp. 234-273.]

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Pima NU29

by orators whose hereditary function it is to tell it dramatically, many informants are vague about the connection between the two parts. They tell the first part as though it had happened to the present Pimans, describing carefully how Elder Brother taught them many of their arts (though never great house building). Then comes the resurrection, unique in the myths of the area, and Elder Brother reappears as a war leader. But again his people are the present Pimans.

It seems obvious that two myths have been joined to produce the narrative. The first, dealt with in detail under Ceremonies, shows likenesses with the myths of Mexico, of the Yumans and of the southern California Shoshoneans who were in contact with them. It mentions specifically the origin of the drinking ceremony which is Mexican in affiliation. The second, beginning with the emergence from underground, resembles the migration myths of the Pueblos, and mentions distinctly that the Wiikita (prayerstick ceremony) the one completely Pueblean ritual, was instituted after the march of conquest.

The tale indicates intimate connections of the Papago with the Sonoran cultures and so do such ceremonials as the drinking feast, the intervillage games, and the salt pilgrimage so similar to the Huichol pilgrimage for peyote and containing, perhaps, a reminiscence of a time when the Gulf of California was not so distant from the Papago habitat. It also shows Pueblo connections in the point for point correspondence of the Wiikita with Hopi ceremonials and in scattered resemblances, constantly appearing. But other Papago traits have their most direct resemblance with the Shoshoneans of the Basin or of California. Such are the extreme importance attached to the menstruating woman, the cult of the eagle, the local organization of the ceremonial leader and the fetish. Many of these are not unknown to the Uto Aztecans to the north or to the south, but they appear there obscured by other more elaborate developments. Their important place in Papago life needs historical explanation.

Such explanation involves careful study, ethnological and archaeological, of the Piman Sonoran area and the trails leading to it. Kroeber has pointed out the resemblance of pottery made by the Mission groups, Cahuilla, Luiseño and Diegueño and by the Seri of Tiburon Island to that of the Papago.[1] Sauer and Brand found on the fortified hills of southern Papagueria and northern Sonora a pottery unlike Hohokam[2] and the connection of these

[1] Kroeber, 1935, p. 703.
[2] Sauer, 1931, pp. 116, 117.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

finds with the past of Pimeria is not clear. Spanish documents may eventually yield more information as to the agricultural people of northern Sonora, now absorbed in the Mexican population. The Opata, and Tepecano who formed one area with the Upper Pimans, should have shared many Hohokam traits possessed by them, perhaps brought them to a higher point. The Lower Pimas, acknowledged by the Upper Pimas to be their kinsmen, present a further problem for they not only had irrigation and colored cotton clothing,[1] but lived in fortified communal houses.[2]

The present study, concerned with ethnology, can offer only such information as is implicit in the extent of Papago likenesses to one region or to another. There have been compiled in appendix II such data as time would permit showing the affiliations of the Papago with northern Mexico, with the Pueblos, the Shoshoneans and their only neighbors who were not Uto-Aztecan, the Yumans. From elements shared with these diverse cultures, the Papago have built a system suited to their life as small groups of peaceful agriculturists, frugal in equipment, informal in organization, intent on hard work and the compelling of the supernatural.

The Pimans as First Seen by the Whites

Between 1450, the latest tree ring date for the abandonment of the Gila by the Pueblo invaders, and 1687, when the first White missionary came, there is a gap in Piman history. At a stone ruin, north of Phoenix, there has been found Gila redware which seems to belong to a date after the departure and in the forests near Prescott there is Red on Buff, in company with black on gray belonging to another people.[3] These are the only pottery finds which point even vaguely to the history of the Hohokam after the invaders had left.

Spanish exploration began, according to tradition, only a hundred years after the exodus but the first travellers if, indeed, they crossed the country at all, left no recognizable account of it. Legend credits Fray Marcos de Niza with passing through the valleys of the Santa Cruz and San Pedro in 1539 though Sauer doubts if he got much above the Mexican border.[4] In 1540, the main Coronado party

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[1] Alegre, 2: pp. 70, 124, 174, 186; Perez, pp. 240—241, 385.
[2] Alegre, 2: pp. 70, 124; Doc. Hist., 4, Series 3, p. 359.
[3] Gladwin, 1933, p. 259.
[4] Sauer, 1932, p. 28.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Fray Manuel was seeing the usual nightly gathering turned to the purposes of Christianity.

The repetition which causes the length of these speeches is not for the mere purpose of explanation. The writer once questioned a wise man as to the proceedings of a meeting which had lasted past midnight. He was able to state them very succinctly. "We said that at the festival a horse had disappeared, but it had been found at the house of a man in the next village who didn't know the owner. Then someone said that some spurs had been found, too, but they had been claimed."

"And was that all?"

"Yes. But everyone said what he thought about it."

The purpose of such repetition would seem to be an emotional one: the attaining of complete unity in the group. After an idea has been re-stated so many times and each man has had his share in sponsoring it, every man's conviction has been solidified and there is little danger of an unsympathetic minority. The long sessions before an agreement is reached have the same purpose. There must be no dissenting minority. Action will be ineffective unless the whole group acts with complete conviction.

This is the ideal of every village group and its method of attaining a strong government without any individual authority. Each man has been conditioned to agreement by the nightly recitations of the moral code which he hears from the age of puberty until death. The result is a "grounding in the faith" which few systems of education could better.

The likeness of the Papago plan of organization to that of the Western Pueblos, is very obvious, though these latter have elaborated a ceremonial organization impossible for the scattered Desert People. We may be seeing here a relic of the Puebloan occupation though we have still no means of telling how far its governmental pattern differed from that of the Papagos' linguistic relatives to the south. Certainly, the title of Bitter or Fierce Man for the war leader has an echo in Mexico.[1] The institution of the secular governor, who supplements the semi-priestly leaders, gives the Papago system an even further resemblance to the present outline of Pueblo organization.

POST-SPANISH GOVERNMENT

The Governor

The picture of council and ritualistic leaders without executive power, does not represent modern Papago government. That

[1] Cf. Nahuatl "Our wrathy chieftain" Bandelier, AA October, 1892, p. 319.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

525 inside." Or he may point to players individually, always feinting first. Those who have been guessed correctly, leave the game, those guessed incorrectly, remain and hide their sticks again, while, for each wrong guess, the guessers lose one point. When all the hiders have finally guessed correctly, the guessers take the sticks.

Only one handgame song was transcribed, evidently part of a long story:

The fly woman, the slim woman sits,
The pumpkin in the pot (before her).

[171] *kinyskut*. This dice game, like parchesi on a large outdoor scale, is played also by the Pimas[1] and by the Tarahumares.[2] The latter calling by the Spanish name *quince*. Since kut is a Papago nominalizing suffix, the word *kinyskut* might seem to have the same origin.

For kinyskut a space is cleared on the ground about eight to ten feet square. Each corner is marked with a hole one half inch deep and with four other holes extending along the sides of the square in each direction. These holes have names, the furthest from the corner being called the end, the next, end-top, then middle, corner-bottom and corner. At the upper right hand corner there is a semicircle of five holes outside the square. The game consists in moving stones, as counters, around the square beginning with this upper right hand corner, each move being made according to the shake of the dice.

The dice are four smooth sticks of ironwood, about ten inches long by one and one half inch wide, flat on one side, rounded on the other. On the flat side they are marked in red and black as shown below.

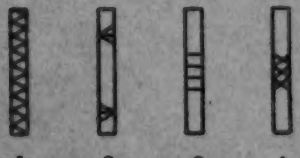

Fig. 4.

Stick no. 1 counts 15, no. 2 counts 6, no. 3 counts 4, no. 4 counts 14.

The player holds all four sticks upright in his right hand and taps them on a flat stone which he holds in his left. Then he gives a slight jerk to the stone and the sticks fall apart on the ground. The count is as follows:

[1] RBAE 26, p. 176. [2] Bennett.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

868 481 Perhaps some time in the night, something will arrive. Then if you are a good runner, you will jump up, you will run (after it). Early in the morning you will get up. Far over there (down to the west) you will sit and will listen for something. You will run over there and something which is good-luck-bringing will meet you: a coyote, an eagle, a hawk. Then you will be a fast runner. You will be a good hunter.

You should run constantly, no matter how much hardship it means; even if you are thirsty, hungry, tired. Then truly this will happen to you. You will throw yourself down repeatedly (worn out). Then there will come a hawk, an eagle, a mountain lion, a jaguar, a bear, and will tell you how to follow something alive (game) and to kill it.

Then when you come back after much running, they will put before you the clay dish. Then you will merely sit and look at it. Even perchance it will speak thus to you, "Go to! Eat me!" Do not eat it until a scum has formed on it. If you eat it before a scum has formed, you will have wrinkles. If you eat but a little, you will be a lean man. You will be light. You will be a fast runner. If you eat much, you will be fat. You will be much wrinkled; you will not be a runner." (1)

[171] This short sermon, delivered by a parent, was a regular pattern with the Papagos and recalls the admonitions delivered by the Aztecs to their children, as reported in Sahagun.[1]

867 There was no rigid form of words for such talks but, as in the speech at the men's meeting, the moral code must be gone over and over until, in modern phraseology, the youth's reactions were fully conditioned. The father was generally the speaker, though the mother might take her turn, especially with the girls. The time chosen was when the family were all lying in the dark on their sleeping mats, sometimes at night, more often in the hour before dawn. There was a special method of speaking: a low, insistent monotone. As one informant said, "You thought you were still asleep. You thought you were hearing that voice in your dreams" (26). As the writer has heard these speeches recited, they have an effect which is almost hypnotic.

"Open your ears, for I am telling you a good thing. Wake and listen. Open your ears. Let my words enter them. Wake up and listen.

You boys, you should go out and run. So you will be swift in time of war. You girls, you should grind the corn. So you will feed the men that they may fight the enemy. You should practise running. So in time of war you may save your lives. Wake up. Do not be idle." (26)

[1] Sahagun, F p. 384—390.

2: Underhill E 5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"Work hard," they were told, "and the magic serpent will come and show you designs for baskets." An informant had this experience, though she did not see the serpent.

"When I am making baskets, I hear a voice speaking to me. 'Put a cactus here. Put a turtle there. There, put a Gila monster.' (26)

Women might acquire curing and, in the old days, rain-making powers after the menopause.

Some light is thrown on the psychological function of the dream by the experience of a woman informant which would seem to be typical. She had all her life observed a practice of midwives: pushing up the baby's palate to produce closure of the fontanelle (see p. [illegible]). This appears to be an old Aztec practice.[1] Although the act was perfectly simple, the informant had never attempted it but in old age she took to dreaming. In one dream the Virgin Mary "and another lady" came and took her through a typically Papago visit to four pools, each guarded by a turquoise and each with a baby's head in it. The Visitants showed her how to spit on a shaman's crystal and touch the fontanelle, which then closed. When she awoke, she knew she could cure the baby's disease. She had no crystal but she did not trouble about it nor about the rest of the ritual. She proceeded to cure babies by pushing up the palate as she had seen others do. All she needed was the dream validation (26).

The Papago dream experience takes its place as a local version of the Guardian Spirit idea which is, in essence, a proclamation of the ability of the individual to attain eminence, regardless of his hereditary status. Such an idea is held both to east and west of the Papago, in varying forms.

The River Yumans, to the west, believed that power-bringing visions came by chance, in natural sleep, and, though an individual's whole success in life depended upon his dreams, he was powerless to induce them. Stated in modern terms, this reflects a belief in innate superiority, perhaps also superior luck, of certain individuals. The subject of the dream was not an animal, as with the Papago, but a mountain or a supernatural being; sometimes merely a prophetic experience.[2]

On the Plains to the east, the vision was induced by efforts of the recipient, demanding a will power would see him through repeated

[1] Sahagun, Seler, pt. 9, sec. 8, p. 366.

[2] Kroeber, 1925, p. 754; Spier, 1933, p. 236; Gifford, 1933, pp. 303–; Forde, 1931, pp. 182, 183, 189, 190.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NW28 Papago NW28

vigil and torture. Such visions occurred in a waking trance, not in sleep, and they took the standard form of visitation from an animal.[1] But, again, the vision was a democratic expedient which gave a man access both to individual achievement and the holding of office.

Gradations of these ideas are to be found in other areas near the Papago, such as the Shoshonean of southern California,[2] the Basin and Plateau[3] with sporadic appearances in the Sonoran and Pueblo areas. We have mentioned the two versions which are in strongest contrast, in order better to define the elements of the Papago vision but without conclusions as to the contacts which gave them currency.

The Papago dream experience occurred in sleep, like that of the Yumans, but the spirits involved were the animal guardians of the Plains. And the vision was induced. The purposeful motivating of a certain dream is at odds with the modern attitude of assimilating dreams as valuable messages from the subconscious, to be hunted by analyst and student, rather than commanded. But the Papago commanded their dreams ... or at least those they remembered. Society has convinced the writer that there were many symbolic experiences of unrecognized desire, like those so much studied today [illegible] of an hypothesis of all dreams. But these, say the Papago, "did not mean anything. We forgot them." Other dreams, however, were motivated by conscious thought and desire. Sexual [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ...

2: Underhill E-5 (1933-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

In one respect, the Papago vision differs both from that of the Yumans and that of the Plains. In these areas, the experience is essentially democratic, opening to him who achieves it, every avenue of advance. But the Papago dream brought success only in racing, gambling, war and curing. Planting was taken care of by communal ritual and office, both ceremonial and secular, descended by heredity, without benefit of vision. It seems possible to relate this importance of the hierarchy to Pueblo influence. We have mentioned that the group of officials in a Papago village is a simplified version of that found in the western Pueblos which, also, derive duties from family status. Whether this group was imposed on a society which already had the vision-complex or whether that complex found them already established, they would serve as a barrier to the principle that all avenues were open to the dreamer.

[illegible]

[illegible] experience of adult life which, from the Papago point of view, must be placed among the crucial ones was the receiving of a sick [illegible]. This was probably the occasion, or by which a man was called [illegible] who had dreamed power [illegible]. Women did not receive visitations of this nature, [illegible] the power.

[illegible]

[illegible] would receive [illegible]

Men	Women
Guarding Lights	Receiving Lights Begins
Day-Light Control	Receiving Lightning
Wind Receiving	Wind Receiving
Cloud Receiving	Mountain Fire
Rainbow Receiving	Weather Control
Receiving a Rainbow at a Spot	Singing Power
Shining Spirits	Gifting
Death Flying (with Fatal Ends)	Animals Receiving
Gaud of Rattlesnakes	Leaves Flying
Crooked Shining	Water Drops or Leaves
Thundering Wings	Leaf Shooting
Short Wings	Feathers Worn
Shining Spirits	

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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776
539

It is badger shaman!
In the night he runs.
Venison he brings.

Little blue fly!
It hangs on my horn.
It will bother me.

Red ants!
Toward me they flung darkness

552 776 The idea here seems to be not to flatter or implore the animal but to mention and describe him, as though that naming in itself negated his power to bring disease.

551 With the Papagos, when a man's name had to be mentioned, it was usually a nickname. Even with ceremonial announcements this was the case. When a war party returned, they sent a herald ahead to shout the names of the slayers, so that their families might be secluded and nicknames, not given names, were used. When naming songs were sung in connection with intervillage races, the singing side sent to inquire the names of their hosts, which they put in their songs and again the names were nicknames. The hosts in turn inquired the names of their guests so that they might call each one to come and receive a gift. "But we only gave them silly names. Not our real ones." (26) This would point to a lifelong [171] prohibition from the use of the given name, though Russell says that among the Pimas such a prohibition lasted only from the age of ten to marriage.[1]

Papago nicknames are of three sorts: descriptive names, referring to some peculiarity of the person named; sexual names, referring to a peculiarity of the namers and "enemy" names, referring to a peculiarity of a dead enemy, mentioned by the person named. The last two have the Papago trait of referring more to another person than to the one named. These were names obtained by a man's own exploits, highly valued and traded. The first, the descriptive name, was apparently a mere makeshift, used in daily life, until a man could get something else.

1. Descriptive names. These are always slightly derogatory and may easily be distinguished from the shaman-given names which have a lofty poetic tone.
Grasshopper ate his arrow (from an incident on a hunting trip)

[1] Russell, p. 188.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

ning, of rain and water running in the arroyos, of corn growing and fruiting. The purpose was to assist in producing a plentiful harvest and to give thanks for favors already bestowed.

Pima informants said that in earlier years their people had taken over from the Papago, in a half-hearted way, the ceremony of Vikita, but that it soon died out. However, in 1906, Brown[5] described a Pima-Maricopa harvest festival formerly held south of the village of Blackwater on the Gila, and, though known as a harvest festival, it might be performed on one or more important occasions each year. Here a group of musicians beat drums of carefully burned out cottonwood logs, a piece of half-tanned deerskin stretched across each end. Others drew bone rasps over the bottoms of upturned baskets, which had been spread with a layer of the gummy secretion of the mesquite tree. An unusual feature of this celebration was that the performers carried wooden and stone phalli, which were doubtless symbolic of fertility. Also, they carried long wands, evidently prayer sticks, tipped with feathers of wild turkey.

Some ceremonial practices and beliefs similar to those found among the Pueblos were also to be observed among the Pimans. One of these was color-direction association. The Piman ceremonial number is four, and four directions are recognized, associated with ceremonial colors. As applied to maize, one Pima informant at Sweetwater volunteered the information that white corn is east; red corn, west; blue corn is north; yellow corn, south. In addition, variegated corn was said to represent "up," while "down" corn was nearly black. This informant was asked on a number of different occasions to repeat the relation between directions and colors of corn and the results were invariably the same; we found it impossible to confuse him. Although this color direction does not check exactly with that given by Parsons,[6] who has listed a

[5] Brown, *A Pima-Maricopa Ceremony.*
[6] Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 459.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

number of comparisons between the Pima and the Pueblos, or by Underhill or Whiting,[7] the general situation has its counterpart among the Pueblo Indians.

Another Pueblo resemblance is seen in the assertion of some Pima informants that, if a man accidentally cut off a stalk of corn while hoeing, it was buried in the field, or tucked under his belt and carried home at night. He felt very badly about the experience for corn was his very life. It was just like "killing his own life," or injuring a friend. Papago had no such outlook. When a Papago cut off a stalk of corn he too felt badly, but this was due purely to economic considerations. However, one informant said that, if the hoes of two persons struck together while hoeing, it was an omen that enemies were coming, so the workers quit and prepared for them. This, too, has its Pueblo counterpart. Still another Pueblo resemblance is seen in the statement of one Pima informant that planting was always started in the east of the field and proceeded toward the west.

It is customary among the Pueblos for the people of a village to prepare, plant, hoe, irrigate and harvest the cacique's field, which in reality is a community field. Among the Pimans, it was not uncommon for the people in a village to take care of the chief's or headman's field, although this was never out of ritualistic considerations as among the Pueblos, but for purely practical reasons. Their view was that if the chief were too busily engaged with tribal matters to look after his farming it was only fair for his people to assist. It was in no sense compulsory.

Pimans, particularly younger women, carefully avoided branched or twin ears of corn, but these were commonly used to provide cornmeal for ceremonies. Informants said that women refrained from eating such ears because they feared having twins, which were regarded as an ill omen.

There was no ceremonial sexual restriction at harvest or

[7] Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 124; Whiting, *Ethnobotany of the Hopi*, p. 45.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

any other period in the cultivation of crops, nor was there ceremonial copulation in the fields to increase fertility.

A magical practice common to Pima and Papago was performed for the purpose of increasing the productivity of crops, particularly pumpkins, watermelons and muskmelons. When these plants began to flower their owner sought a set of female twins whom he took into the fields. Each twin gathered tips of four pumpkins or melon vines, and walked through the patch chewing them and blowing her breath over the plants. The twins advised the owner to stay out of the field four or five days, then come back and he would see that numerous pumpkins and melons had set.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

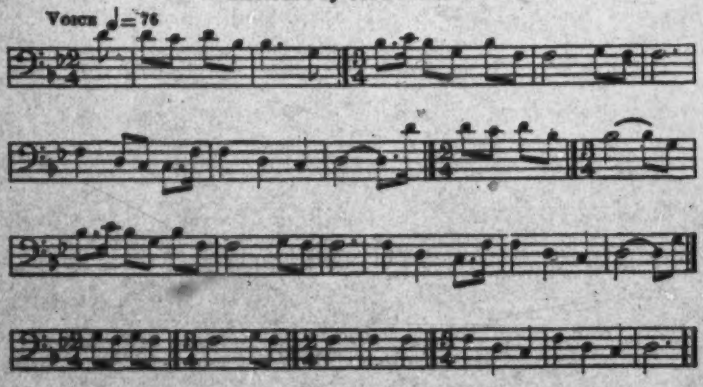
The burden basket (*kiăo*), which forms the subject of the next song, is a peculiar contrivance by which the women of Piman tribes were enabled to carry loads of mesquite wood and other material weighing, in some instances, about 100 pounds. It consisted of a conical netting stretched on a hoop, with four sticks, two of which were about 3 feet long. A separate long stick, called a "helping stick," formed a tripod, thus making it possible for a woman to load the basket before assuming the burden.[48] The position of the basket on the ground probably suggested the idea that it was "walking." The specimen illustrated (pl. 10, *a*) was obtained at Santa Rosa. The headband is missing but a portion of its cord remains. According to Mason, the "buttonhole or half-hitch stitch" of this netting does not appear in tribes north of the Piman but "occurs in Central America, in Latin South America as far south as Tierra del Fuego, where it will be found to be the only attempt at textiles."[49]

The people rose up again and went toward the south. As soon as they went out from the place where they had camped the burden basket walked behind them. Coyote came and saw the burden basket walking. He spoke to it and said, "You certainly are walking," and immediately it stopped.

Elder Brother said to the old woman, "Now I am going to give you strength so that you can carry the burden basket and never be tired." So he sang this song.

No. 17. Song That Gave Woman the Strength to Carry the Burden Basket
(Catalogue No. 999)

Recorded by JOSE MANUEL



TRANSLATION

Going toward the east where the road goes;
Where the burden basket walked.

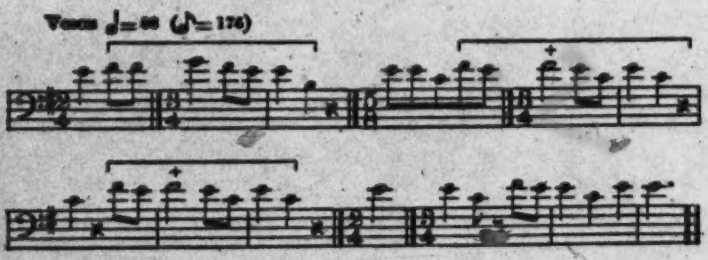
[48] Mason, Otis T., Origins of Invention, London, 1895, p. 251.

[49] Mason, Otis T., Primitive Travel and Transportation, U. S. Nat. Mus. Rept. for 1894, p. 670, Washington, 1896.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

The foregoing story of the origin of the flute was recorded at San Xavier in March, 1920. The following autumn it was read to Papa[illegible]at Sells, who said the inclusion of the bamboo game was a Pima version, and that in the true Papago version of the story the boy killed his grandfather after playing the "stick game" with him. They said the wonder boy challenged his grandfather to the game and, as the two sat facing each other preparatory to playing, he sang the following song, recorded by a man living at San Xavier. (Pl. 13, *b*.)

No. 42. "I Will Toss Up the Sticks"
(Catalogue No. 1066)

Recorded by LEONARDO RIOS

TRANSLATION

Now I toss up the sticks.
I will throw the sticks for the corner.
(The highest score was made by this throw.)

Analysis.—This song is peculiar in that the first and last tones, as well as the larger part of the melody, are on the upper part of the compass. The fourth constitutes about 20 per cent and the major third about 40 per cent of the intervals.

As the boy sang he threw the sticks near his own feet, then nearer and nearer to his grandfather, until at the fourth throw the sticks were at his grandfather's feet and the game was won. He sang this song after he had won the game and in it he calls upon his grandfather to pay his stake. In games or contests between mythical characters the stake is a life. It was said, "The boy was half crying as he sang the song because he felt so sorry to kill his grandfather, but he felt he must do it in order to avenge the death of his father at the hand of the old man." After singing the song he killed his grandfather with a club.

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7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

APPENDIX I

SHORT VOCABULARIES FROM THE LANGUAGES OF THE PAPAGO, PIMA, AND COCOPA INDIANS

ṯ is pronounced as *th* in *think*.
ṛ is pronounced with a thick sound, almost as *r*.
x is to be given the sound of the Greek χ.
A letter placed as the *s* in *Yés* is pronounced faintly.

In the Pima language only those words which are different from the Papago designations are indicated.

	ENGLISH	PAPAGO.	PIMA.	COCOPA.
1	man.	tsiótsh.		ápa.
2	woman.	óṛvi.		njesák.
3	boy.	viapókuli.		kuxumík.
4	girl.	tjúxjia.		nirshhá.
5	infant.	áli.		kvemék.
6	my father (said by son).	nioók.		enikú.
7	my father (said by daughter).	nioók.		enjiá.
8	my mother (said by son).	ntjú.		intjá.
9	my mother (said by daughter).	ntjú.		intjá.
10	my husband.	níkûn.		inkuriák.
11	my wife.	nihóník.		visvéy.
12	my son (said by father).	niálitak.		xomá.
13	my son (said by mother).	nimát.		shaáu.
14	my daughter (said by father).	niálitak.		epýa.

15	my daughter (said by mother).	nimat.		shaáu.
16	my elder brother.	nisis.	kō°tju njuvōanak.	kasá.
17	my younger brother.	nishúupitsh.	ál̄itju njuvōanak.	nixhúl.
18	my elder sister.	nisis.	kō°tju ófvi njuvōanak.	kasá komtjavíl.
19	my younger sister.	nishúupitsh.	ál̄itju ófvi njuvōanak.	nixhúl tjómkvas.
20	an Indian.		ótam.	metjapái.
21	people.	húmatshkam.		
22	head.	mo.		mukkúr.
23	hair.	mo.		ámuxvál.
24	face.	voihosha.		ijú.
25	forehead.	koá.		lxemeá.
26	ear.	naak.		shmal.
27	eye.	wi.		ijú.
28	nose.	taak.		ixhú.
29	mouth.	tjin.		ijjá.
30	tongue.	njúun.		ennjipál.
31	teeth.	táatam.		ijjá evví.
32	beard.	tjínjevo.	ōshpo.	ijjá lemírsh.
33	neck.	kósevo.		amapúk.
34	arm.	nóvfi.		ishá^{il}.
35	hand.	nóvfi.	máshua.	ishá^{il}.
36	fingers.	mámitjpot.	maúshōtkik.	ishá^{il} kusheráp.
37	thumb.	kúutjo.	kú^{i}tjo maúshōtkik.	
38	nails.	hóotsh.		lkaxváu.
39	body.	tjúohok.		immátj.
40	chest.	pásho.		axtikkár.
41	belly.	vok.		itjú.
42	female breasts.	víp̄i.		

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7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

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ENGLISH.	PAPAGO.	PIMA.	COCOPA.
43 leg.	káxiok.		em^{a}shíl.
44 foot.	tat.		immí.
45 toes.	mámitjpot.	tártshötkik.	immí kusheráp.
46 bone.	óo.		eniyák.
47 heart.	íbetak.		iyái.
48 blood.	úurt.		nixwat.
49 town, village.	kíhim.		^{o}hwá.
50 chief.	óoakakam (osáka = rod), also: ku (big).	tekúatshik.	
51 warrior.	sáhamakam.	hatjúik kiátam.	hxvá oskanyáa.
52 friend.	náwatsh.		innjél.
53 house.	ki.		^{o}hwá; ^{o}hwa tsavíp (buried) is the designation for a house made of arrowbush and covered with earth.
54 kettle.	kóhiwone tákut (kóhiwo = boil, tákut = implement).	hía (olla).	klumás (olla).
55 bow.	kíat.		ítjim.
56 arrow.	hápot.		ípa.
57 axe, hatchet.	hása.		sakárt.
58 knife.	váinom.		^{o}whí.
59 canoe.			ígelhu (boat of Mexicans). Kúpap, float, made of tule ("bulrushes," *typha latifolia*).
60 moccasins.	teva or shoesk (probably not original); sandals = kaika shoesk.		xaminá́u.

61	pipe.		tjúinikurt.	mŏkwín (Mexican pipe). Ŭup (tobacco) njáasas (reed) is the name for native cigarette.
62	tobacco.	viv.	víhuvi.	ŭp.
63	sky.	tetámokatshim (tetam=our (te) top (tam), kátshim=that lies prominent).	támaitjam.	mā.
64	sun.	ta'a.		ᵉnjá.
65	moon.	mársat.		xtlá.
66	star.	hóo.		kúxlkjap.
67	day.	ta'a.		ᵉnjám.
68	night.	tjúhok.		sinjám.
69	morning.	síalim.	máasi (sćalam, to-morrow).	njáak.
70	evening.	hótonak.		netxáp.
71	summer.	tónjapk (heat).		ᵉnkipíl.
72	autumn.		tjókiapk.	
73	winter.	sŏŏpk (cold).		xesúr.
74	wind.	hóivoli.		etxá.
75	thunder.	pŏopotk.	toáhem.	shukfr.
76	lightning.	vŏxpŏki or vŏpŏki.		shuulám.
77	rain.	tjúoki.		ikwí.
78	snow.	kuv.		sa'níćl (snow fell).
79	fire.	tai.	náata.	tlumár.
80	water.	shóotak.		xá.
81	ice.	kuv.		sesemís.
82	earth, land.	tjúvurt.		mart.
83	sea.	katak.		xarsél.
84	river.	ákimali.		xawíl.

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	ENGLISH.	PAPAGO.	PIMA.	COCOPA.
85	lake.	vámuli.	hötjulko shóotkam.	xinjú.
86	valley.	vóoshan.	shíakik.	
87	plain, llano.	tjuk.		metár.
88	hill, mountain.	kávolik.		wi (stone, rock) manyú (high).
89	island.		sikuli tjúurtkam.	wixaktjul.
90	stone, rock.	hótai.		wi.
91	salt.	ón.		eshír.
92	iron.	vúinom.		
93	forest.	súosik.		pit.
94	tree.	óa.		
95	wood.	kóak.	óoa.	
96	leaf.	háhak.		ᵒval.
97	bark.	úlitak.		shuyél.
98	grass.	váshal.		shmal.
99	pine.	hok.		
100	maize.	hóin.		ᵃktjás.
101	squash.	háal[1].		xamitsá.
102	flesh, meat.	tjúokuk.		kikvái.
103	dog.	koks.		xart.
104	bear.	tjótum.		tumá.
105	wolf.	shúu.		
106	fox.	gáso.		martkevá.
107	deer.	ʻfik.	hwei.	akkvák.
108	mountain-sheep.	tjúrsa.		ᵒmmó.
109	beaver.		kóve.	
110	rabbit, hare.	tjúov.		xalxá.

111	tortoise.	kómaktjert.		xnjar.
112	horse.	kávio (*caballo*).		ᵃkwáks.
113	fly.	móalĭ.		shlimú.
114	mosquito.	vámok.		shimpúl.
115	snake.	vámat.		
116	rattlesnake.	kóol.		awí.
117	bird.	óovík.		ᵃshā.
118	egg.	nónha.		shoáp.
119	feathers.	áan.	vópo.	shavál.
120	wings.	húukatsh.	aán or hök.	njurvír.
121	goose.			shimkoá.
122	duck (mallard).	vápkaik.		shaniyáslepasáb (niyá = mouth; slepasáb = wide).
123	turkey.	tóva.		urút.
124	pigeon.	hóji.	ókokᵒⁱ.	ilkú.
125	fish.	vátop.		sifl.
126	name.	tjúukik.		ᵘmul.
127	white.	ᵃtóa.		xamál.
128	black.	ᵃtjuk.		nihl.
129	red.	suvök.		xoát.
130	light blue.	stjúutak.	stámain.	xapsú.
131	yellow.	suvám.		ᵃkwars.
132	light green.	stjúutak.		xapsú.
133	great, large.	ku.		pᵉtái.
134	small, little.	tjum.	hláasik.	ltjas.
135	strong.	sukúvök.		shepakinám.
136	old.	kŏli (man), thing: hökjokam.		kuruák.
137	young.		vörtjutsh.	kviyunúk.

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7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

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	ENGLISH.	PAPAGO.	PIMA.	COCOPA.
138	good.	skúukatsh.	sāp^{a}.	pvai.
139	bad.	pi kúukatsh.	peśp^{a}.	xatâk.
140	dead.	móki.		mushupá.
141	alive.	tóakam.		yupárt.
142	cold.	súupi.		tūr.
143	warm, hot.	^{s}ton^{i}.		lxáp.
144	I.	áni.		njāp.
145	thou.	ápi.		mapún.
146	he.	húkai.		nirshán.
147	we.	átjim.		njápa.
148	ye.	ápim.		mapúsa.
149	they.	húkam.		nirshán.
150	this.	ſita.		pin.
151	that.	húkai.		shun.
152	all.	vō^{o}s.		sámel.
153	many, much.	mói.		ninjám.
154	who.	húdai.		maká^{i}n.
155	far.	mörk.		kur.
156	near.	pi mörk.	meś.	xarpái.
157	here.	ſija.		upái.
158	there.	ámai.		shūl.
159	to-day.	itta^{r}sh.		njápum.
160	yesterday.	táko.		sinyár.
161	to-morrow.	ſialim.		njákam.
162	yes.	hæo.		ił.
163	no.	piá.		láxem.
164	one.	húmako, sometimes: máto (in counting).		ushſt.

165	two.	kok.		xuvök.
166	three.	vaík.		xamúk.
167	four.	kíik.		supöp.
168	five.	hútasp.		sheráp.
169	six.	tjóotp.		xamxúk.
170	seven.	vövak.		paxká.
171	eight.	kíkik.		supxúk.
172	nine.	hómokt.		xamxamúk.
173	ten.	vörstomam.		shahúk.
174	eleven.	vörstomam kámai húmako.		magshít.
175	twelve.	vörstomam kámai kok.		magxuvök.
176	twenty.	koko vörstomam.		shahúk vök.
177	thirty.	váiko vörstomam.		shahúk muk.
178	forty.	kíiko vörstomam.		shahúk supöp.
179	fifty.	hútaspo vörstomam.		shahúk sheráp.
180	sixty.	tjóotpo vörstomam.		shahúk xamxúk.
181	seventy.	vövako vörstomam.		shahúk paxká.
182	eighty.	kíkiko vörstomam.		shahúk supxúk.
183	ninety.	hómokto vörstomam.		shahúk xamxamúk.
184	one hundred.	ciento.		shahúk shahúk.
185	to eat.	ho.		max.
186	to drink.	ĺ.		sirx.
187	to run.	mõ[r].		[s]skiyúĝ.
188	to dance.	kúihi.	votjúot[a].	ímax.
189	to sing.	njúi.	vonjíoi.	síyáx.
190	to sleep.	koi.		shemmáx.
191	to speak.	njo.		kvarkvár.
192	to see.	njúi.		wix.

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7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

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APPENDIX I

ENGLISH.	PAPAGO.	PIMA.	COCOPA.
193 to love.	tátjua.		
194 to kill.	m°á.		panák.
195 to sit.	táxiva.		apuvák.
196 to stand.	kúkiva.		apuś.
197 to go.	hih.		ăx.
198 to come.	tjívia.	vohih.	puyí.
199 to walk.	him.	vohih.	apaaúx.
200 to work.	tjíkpŏ.		nawirár.
201 to steal.	u¹s.		valísh.
202 to lie.	íatok.		asunéy.
203 to give.	ma.		akíx.
204 to laugh.	xúxum.	vohŏ.	auséy.
205 to cry.	shóaha.		uúkx.

8: Pijoan, Elkin & Eslinger D-5 (ca. 1942)1943
NU28 Papago NU28

Ascorbic acid insufficiency may presumably be a cause for such findings. Saturation studies with determinations of the urinary excretion are impractical in field work and in our opinion the circumstances would introduce a considerable source of error.

DISCUSSION

Among Papago Indians there is an obvious insufficiency of ascorbic acid in the diet. The plasma levels of ascorbic acid in the Papago Indians studied are in general not those characteristic of scurvy but indicate rather the beginning of subclinical scurvy. In some cases where the value is below 0.3 mg. per cent, certain stigmata of early scurvy can be found, such as bleeding gums, hemorrhagic diatheses about the ankles and heels, and loose teeth. The other vitamin deficiencies present somewhat confused the clinical picture. This was found to be the case also among Shoshone and Taos Indians, as well as among Spanish Americans (Pijoan and Eggan, '43). These people have dietary food patterns which have points of similarity, namely, that carbohydrates and proteins are derived largely from cooked legumes. The body economy as studied by Pijoan and Eggan ('43) is a poor one and the numerous deficiencies form vicious circles involving infections. The introduction of synthetic vitamin preparations or foods foreign to their culture has been attempted and their use is of short duration, as such preparations have no cultural significance and the medical results are slow and undramatic. The solution of the problem of ascorbic acid nutrition among Papago Indians so far evades us. Among certain peoples where citrus fruits, tomatoes and strawberries are part of their culture, the increased use of such foods as a curative measure of a deficiency is a simple one. In other areas, such as Taos, New Mexico, decoctions of pine needle juice or chili juices can supply the necessary ascorbic acid and their use can fit into the acculturation process. No plants having a high ascorbic acid content can be found in the Papago reservation, even though the use of green peppers or seed sprouts might play a role in increasing the source of ascorbic acid. From a nutritional point of view the problem is a provocative one and merits attention.

18: Kelly E-4, 5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter I

HISTORY

The modern Papago, and their effort to adjust 121
to the American industrial civilization around them, [178]
cannot be understood apart from the traditions and values [131]
that have come down through the years from the ancestral
Papago society which occupied this same region in pre-
Spanish times. The contrast between the Papago society
and economy of 1700 and modern American industrial life
is as great as the contrast between any two societies in
the world today.

Linguistically, the Papago dialects--still 197
spoken in the vast majority of Papago homes--are classi-
fied with the Pima-Papago division of the Piman language
which, in turn, is grouped with the larger Uto-Aztecan
stock which is made up of Indian languages spoken from
southern Mexico to the borders of Montana and Wyoming.
Culturally, the Papago are related to the desert tribes 101
of northwestern Mexico, western Arizona, southern Cali-
fornia and Nevada.

As a group these so-called "Rancheria" cultures 105
are characterized as having loose political organization 171
with little authority vested in the chief or headman; 175

105 lack of interest in wealth, religious structures, and
171 public works; relative unimportance of religious cere-
175 monialism and the weak development of religious leader-
ship. On the positive side, they had a highly developed
[181] native literature in myth and song recital, in folk
stories, and in formalized oratory; they were greatly
interested in social gatherings and were especially
sensitive to the maintenance of form and custom in social
intercourse. The reports on all these people give the
impression of an unhurried, relaxed type of life, and a
dependence upon established tradition and the old people
who understood this tradition, rather than upon individual
initiative.

171 The absence of individual aggressiveness, the
181 ease of manner, and the lack of a fully developed interest
178 in economic advancement, as this is known in white society,
persist as cultural traits among the modern groups and
account, in some measure, for their resistance to measures
and proposals stemming from the white man's concept of
"progress," and his interest in wealth as a symbol of
status and achievement.

175 The Papago, however, with their interest in
171 agriculture and in village life, had a somewhat more com-
105 plex way of life than the typical "Ramoheria" groups of
northwestern Arizona, southeastern California, and Nevada,
[621] in pre-Spanish days. The Papago village, in fact, was
usually politically autonomous and served as the next most

important social unit to the extended family which, in some other Rancheria cultures, was the largest effective social unit. Leadership, as among other desert tribes, was more through personal influence and character than vested authority. In addition to the headman each village also had a council of elders, a village crier, a keeper of the smoke, and other village officers who were in charge of ceremonies and festivals. Papago warfare, led by men selected for their ability, was directed principally against the Apache on the east.

Perhaps the people now known as Papagos would be more accurately described as the descendents of three west to east groups whose "Rancheria" type culture became more complex toward the east where increased rainfall and surface water permitted such things as concentrated and permanent settlements, greater division of labor, and more elaborate religious ceremonies. Dr. Bernard Fontana, at any rate, has pointed out that at the time of Spanish contact there were three major "types" of Papago groups classified on the basis of subsistence and settlement patterns. (Personal Communication). These, according to Fontana, were the western centrally-based nomads, the Sand Papagos, living in an area of less than five inches of rainfall annually and located between the Gila Mountains on the west to the Ajo Mountains on the east; the central "akchin" farmers, or Papagos proper, whose winter-summer transhumance

162 Age Distribution. The median age of a person of Papago descent is between 19 and 20 years. The median age of the rural population of the United States is 27.8. There is no doubt that this is a young population and that the age distribution is comparable to populations where living conditions are difficult, where modern sanitation practices are not adhered to, and where the application of modern medicine is not yet reflected in population figures.

162 171 A comparison of age groups with the United States rural population in 1956 is given below.

Table 6. Total Papago Population by Age Groups Compared with Rural America

Age Group	Papago Number	Papago Percent	Rural America Percent
Under 5 years	1671	14.65	12.39
5 to 9 years	1598	14.01	11.98
10 to 14 years	1335	11.70	9.57
15 to 19 years	1158	10.15	7.32
20 to 24 years	993	8.70	5.10
25 to 34 years	1624	14.24	13.26
35 to 44 years	1156	10.13	13.22
45 to 54 years	891	7.81	10.59
55 to 64 years	512	4.48	7.97
65 and over	466	4.08	8.56
Total	11,404		
Age not known	371		

144 162 Race Composition. An examination of our statistics on the age and residence of Papagos of mixed ancestry (whether the mixture is with non-Indians or with members of other Indian tribes) reveals that mixed-blood Papagos and marriages of Papagos with non-Papagos have been increasing in frequency and that, as would be expected, mixed marriages are most common among Papagos living off the reservation. (Table 7)

Population Conclusions. Two very clear trends are indicated in our analysis of the total Papago population: (1) Papagos have been moving off the reservation in ever increasing numbers during the lifetime of the present population and (2) contact with the outside world has accelerated the intermarriage of Papagos with non-Papagos. Data, not here reported, shows that the majority of these marriages are between Papagos and members of other Indian tribes.

In addition to the more or less permanent residence shift indicated above, data to be presented in Chapter IV will show a high rate of seasonal and temporary movement off the reservation.

In his preliminary report on the Papago Population, prepared in 1961, Dr. Robert A. Hackenberg prepared an analysis respecting the transitional position of the Papago midway between reliance upon the institutions of native society and the acceptance of the alternatives provided by Federal programs and the opportunities in the surrounding non-Indian off-reservation areas. The following analysis is from his report and is in no material respect altered by the more precise information gathered during the past two years.

Age Distribution. The significance of the age distribution developed from the 1959 figures may be seen through the comparisons made in the following table.

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Table 10. Age Proportions of "Primitive" and "Civilized" Groups

Age Group	Navajo	1959 Papago	Sweden
0- 4	17.1%	14.65%	9.1%
5-14	28.9	25.71	13.9
15-24	20.0	18.86	12.9
25-34	11.3	14.24	15.6
35-44	8.2	10.13	15.5
45-54	5.9	7.81	13.0
55-64	3.6	4.48	10.0
65+	4.2	4.08	10.1

The columns show the differing proportions of "primitive" and "civilized" populations which appear in the various age classes. The basic variable is life expectancy. In populations such as the Navajo, with short life-span, there is a tendency for a large proportion of the total group to be concentrated in the lower age ranges. In Western European civilization, where nations have the world's longest life expectancies, the population when grouped by age, tends to distribute equally across all categories.

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The transitional nature of the Papago population is illustrated by comparison of proportions of all three populations under 25 years of age. The Navajo proportion is 66%, the Papago is 59%, and the Swedish, 36%. The table above shows the Papago proportion in each age class to fall between the extremes represented by Sweden and Navajo.

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Race Composition. The trend in favor of greater racial mixture at the younger age levels has already been noted. One out of every three Papago children born today has at least

162 Table 16. The Papago Administrative Population by Sex and Residence, 1959.

Residence	Total	Percent	Male	Female
On Papago Reservations	4,803	49.68%	2,405	2,398
In Non-Reservation Communities	4,864	50.32%	2,369	2,495
Total	9,667		4,774	4,893
Unknown Residence	528	5.18%	271	257
Total Irrespective of Residence	10,195		5,045	5,150

The administrative population is almost equally divided between reservation residence and off reservation residence with 49.7% living on the reservation, and 50.3% off. The 528 Papagos without known residence are not included 127 in these calculations. It is necessary to repeat that we have classified individuals according to "usual" residence and that this designation, in many cases, was a subjective judgement on the part of our informants.

464 171 Manpower Resources. The Papago labor force differs from the non-Indian labor force in two principal respects. The Papagos have a high percentage of individuals who are multi-employed, i.e., their income in any given year is derived from a wide variety of combinations of employment. The other difference is that the work force has a high percentage of seasonal and temporary workers, the majority of whom must be described as "underemployed."

162 463 128 In the tabulations below we have assigned multi-employed individuals to the type of employment in which they earned the largest share of their income during the 12 months period preceding our interview. Where multi-employment income is about equally divided individuals are designated as having "mixed" 463 162 employment. Most multi-employed individuals are engaged in stock raising and

force, compared with 68% among those living off the reservation. The difference 162 464
is in the number of Papagos who are unemployed or who live on unearned income: 338 with unearned income live on the reservation, compared with 32 off the reservation and 174 unemployed persons live on the reservation, compared with 80 off the reservation.

Employment and Education, Age and Origin. Among the administrative 162 871
population, 19 years of age and older, 34% has had no education or has not gone beyond the fourth grade in school, 39% has had a fifth grade through eighth grade education, and 28% has had one year of high school education or more. Less than one percent has attended college and less than one percent has had formal vocational training. Comparable percentages for the United States as a whole in 1959 [191]
among individuals 18 years of age and older are: no education or less than five years, 7%, up to eight years of education, 27%, up to twelve years of education, 48%. Sixteen percent of the adult United States population has attended or completed college, (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1959).

The Papago level of education is no surprise when the history of formal 162 871
education on the reservation is known. It does come as somewhat of a surprise, 464
however, to learn that Indians with a few more years of education find better jobs and steadier jobs than those that have had less than four years in school. The data are in Tables 19, 20, and 21. The reason can perhaps be traced to better [191]
facility in English which would be expected of the Papagos who have received an education beyond the fourth grade. The data, however, are contrary to similar [114]
information secured on the Colorado River Reservation (Kelly, 1959). Seasonal agricultural workers have a lower than average percentage of individuals who have completed the fourth grade while non-agricultural wage workers are above the average. Only seven percent of the skilled off reservation wage workers have had less than five years in school (See Table 20).

[text continues on P.109]

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The author's summary of findings will be found in Table 24 where he analyses his sample in terms of Papago man hours of farm work compared with other workers; in Table 25 where man hours are given in percentages; and in Table 26 where earnings, calculated for the sample, are projected to the total amounts earned by all farm workers in Pima County.

An interesting distinction is made between temporary farm work and seasonal farm work. This was possible because farmers keep their own records on temporary employees who are hired for many types of jobs during the year. Seasonal workers, on the other hand, are hired by labor contractors (crew leaders) to take care of peak periods of farm labor demand.

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Table 24. Number of Workers, Man-Hours, and Earnings by Category of Work and Ethnic Affiliation from a Sample of Pima County Farms.

Work Categories		Non-Indian Amount	Papago Only Amount	Other Indian Amount	All Workers Amount
Direct Permanent full time	No. workers*	164	41	8	213
	Total man-hrs.	492,000	107,004	20,880	619,884
	Total wages	$351,040	$121,764	$23,760	$696,564
Direct Temporary part time	No. workers*	64	227	9	300
	Total man-hrs.	46,126	111,530	7,200	164,856
	Total wages	$ 34,394	$ 83,647	$ 5,400	$123,641
Indirect crew leaders' crews	No. workers*	261	146	138	565
	Total man-hrs.	133,377	116,220	89,100	338,697
	Total wages	$ 86,695	$ 75,543	$57,915	$220,153
All Work Activities	No. workers*	489	414	175	1,078
	Total man-hrs.	671,503	334,754	117,180	1,123,437
	Total wages	$472,329	$280,954	$87,075	$1,040,358

*These worker figures do not represent discrete units, except in one category--"Direct Permanent." For the other two categories they represent contacts with actual persons, who may or may not have been recalled by name, which were recorded primarily for the purpose of facilitating the informants' and investigators' computation of man-hours which do represent discrete units.

[P.113]

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Table 25. Percentage of Total Man-Hours by Category of Work and Ethnic Affiliation of Workers from a Sample of Pima County Farms.

	Non-Indian	Papago Only	Other Indian	All Workers
Direct Permanent	79.3%	17.3%	3.4%	100%
Direct Temporary	28.0	67.6	4.4	100
Indirect	39.4	34.3	26.3	100
All Work Activities	39.8	29.8	10.4	100

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Table 26. Projection of Sample Findings as an Estimate of Total Income from Farm Work in Pima County by Ethnic Affiliation of Workers*

Work Categories	Non-Indian	Papago Only	Other Indian	All Workers
Direct Permanent Full Time	$1,238,292	$273,627	$53,393	$1,565,312
Direct Temporary Part Time	77,739	187,971	12,135	277,845
Indirect Crew Leaders Crews	194,820	169,760	130,146	494,726
All Work Activities	1,510,852	631,358	195,674	2,337,883

* Projections for the entire county were calculated by dividing the item--wages in this case--by ".449" the fraction of total county acreage (66,875) that the acreage of the sample farms (29,796) comprised. Average wage for permanent workers was $1.00 per hour plus about $30 per month in other benefits, for direct temporary workers it was 75¢ per hour and for indirect workers it was 65¢ per hour.

657 There are five welfare categories, Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependant Children, Aid to the Blind (all administered by the state welfare office), Child Welfare and General Assistance (administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs). In addition, everyone eligible for assistance in the above categories, plus those of minimum income, are eligible for surplus food under the Surplus Commodities Program (a state agency).

162 By 1962, according to Jones, the number of reservation welfare cases
657 had jumped from 448 to 536, not counting an estimated fifteen children receiving Child Welfare benefits and 170 heads of households receiving surplus food. Counting dependents this means that more than 1800 residents out of a total of about 5000 on the three Papago reservations are receiving some assistance, directly or indirectly, from welfare programs.

162 Welfare statistics pertaining to the Papago reservations are given in
657 Table 27. Trends for fiscal years 1958 through 1962 indicate a gradual increase
178 in Aid to Dependent Children cases. This has been noted also for the non-Indian
[115] population as a whole. An opinion with respect to the reason for this was provided
[586] by Pima County welfare officials. More women and children tend to return to the reservation, or remain there. More women are finding out about ADC grants. In addition, there is a national increase, as well as a local increase, in divorce.
[848] There is also an increase in illegitimacy. The primary cause for the condition that makes a woman and her children eligible for A.D.C., however, is the death,
[164] disability or desertion of the father. On the reservations death claims 25% of
[165] such cases, disability 22%, and desertion about 19% of the total.
[586]

162 Given the nature of Papago family economy, the results of a comparison
171 with the non-Indian population of Pima County are not particularly surprising.
657 For 1961 the non-Indian population of the county was estimated to be 48 times as large as the reservation Indian population. Using the population ratio of 1 to 48

as a basis for comparison, ADC cases occur in the ratio 1 to 6, OAA cases occur in the ratio 1 to 7 and Aid to the Blind cases occur in the ratio 1 to 10.

The data given above reveal quite clearly the "vulnerable" situation of most Papago families and the depressed economic conditions on the reservations. The welfare picture, however, is not quite as bad as it appears to be. Indians look upon their reservations as a place of security and support--not only in terms of the assistance rendered through federal agencies, but also the security and support that can be expected from kinsmen and neighbors in an Indian community. Indians in trouble return to the reservations and this is undoubtedly the reason why Jones found 465 individuals receiving welfare payments on the reservations in 1959 and we found only 32 such cases among Papagos living off the reservations.

Employment and Income on the Papago Reservations. Information on residence and place of employment as given in this report indicates how difficult it would be to study a "reservation population" apart from a "tribal population." It has been shown that family movement on and off the reservations is a constant process and that the annual earnings of 350 adults, at the very least, are from sources both on and off the reservation. Another group of about 450 adults (not counting the unemployed and housewives) are recorded as having their "usual" home on the reservations but live on income from temporary and seasonal wage work on the outside.

Patterns of Papago employment and the many and varied sources of income pose major problems in any attempt to learn the sum of Papago earnings family by family. Even in a sample survey, where the employment and earnings of a small number of families could be studied intensively, the findings would be less than precise for the hundreds of families who are multi-employed, irregularly employed,

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psychological base in cooperative family life, with roots in the traditional homeland to counterbalance the wage work cycle is of vital importance to Papago well-being as a firm pivot around which the individual may build his new adjustment to rapidly changing modern conditions. As such, the new dual orientation may well serve as the focus of administrative planning.[1]

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However, an increasing proportion of the Desert People who work on cotton farms no longer make an annual migration from reservation home to labor camp. They have moved from the reserves more or less permanently, consciously recognizing themselves as permanent farm workers. Mostly they are irrigators, but do general farm work, and include tractor drivers and other skilled workmen. They contribute some labor to harvesting cotton, since men pick when regular jobs are slack, and wives and children pick off and on. These

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people made up over a fifth of the Papagos interviewed in the course of this study,[2] indicating that the number of Papagos living on farms outside the reserves all the time is relatively large, perhaps as many as 800.[3] They occupy an important place in the labor

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picture and economy of the cotton-growing valleys. Their ability to support themselves by wage labor is very important to the economy of the reserves, removing part of the population overload that cannot be supported adequately by the poor lands of the reserves.

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This form of adjustment to a radically changed economy has not progressed to its ultimate, however. In South Africa, where European settlers moved in and confined the natives to similar reserves, about 35% of the native population lives permanently on European owned farms.[4] If 800 Papagos live on southern Arizona farms all the time, only about 10% of the population is living on European owned farms outside the reserves. (Perhaps as many live in southern Arizona cities.)

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 71.
[2] 12 of 53 families, or 22.6%.
[3] About 2,000 Papagos picked cotton in 1950, and about 4,500 lived in labor camps. So approximately 200 Papago men may be working as year-round farm laborers, and their wives add another 200 part-time cotton pickers. Their families are somewhat smaller than those of pickers migrating from the reserves.
[4] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

464 36 166 178 170 [221] The movement of the Desert People to permanent homes in labor camps on European owned farms, abandoning their roots on the tribal lands is a relatively new development. While Papagos have worked for Europeans for almost the entire period of contact, their work has always been brief in duration, a supplemental measure followed by a withdrawal to the homeland. Forsaking overcrowded tribal lands for good seems to have begun only within the last decade, and to have reached significant proportions only in the last 5 years. (Some Papagos have worked for many years as domestics or miners away from the reserves) This late beginning for a class of Papagos severed from their homeland is due to the peaceful nature of contacts between Papagos and Americans and to lack of opportunity for wide-scale farm employment until [422] recent years. The Papago economic base was never [248] destroyed by warfare with the incoming whites as in the case of the Navahos and many other tribes. Over- [161] population on deteriorating reserves did not reach a critical point until about the same time extensive development of irrigated agricultural lands in nearby valleys began, offering a safety valve to those Papagos able to speak acceptable English and perform semi-skilled farm work.

464 166 171 This class of Papago farm laborers is very new compared to natives living on South African farms. Most of them have grown up on European farms, without any stake in native reserve areas. Some are descended from natives forced into farm labor by destruction of their cattle in wars nearly a century ago.[1]

The ties native South African farm workers retain with natives living in the reserves naturally depend on the time they have spent on the farms. Some entirely lack relatives or friends on reserves, and have [602] never visited the reserves.[2] A very few Papago year- [572] round farm laborers no longer have relatives on the reservations. But they all still have friends on the trust lands. They all were born on the reserves. [574] They all still visit their old homes, even if only [186] rarely. They are all very conscious that they are Desert People, and are only beginning to view themselves as people apart.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.
[2] Ibid., p. 390.

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171 This Papago family including parents and sometimes another adult, with 2 or 3 children is a comparatively smaller unit than native families living on European owned South African farms, for example. There Dutch and English settlers also moved into native held lands, and a class of permanent native farm laborers has grown up. Their average household includes slightly more than 3 adults, and 5 children.[1] This is about the size of the Papago extended family living as a household on the reserves. "Most often, and ideally, a household consists of the old parents, unmarried sons and daughters, and married sons with their wives and children--three generations in all."[2] It reflects the fact that living on European operated farms is new to the Desert People, a move accomplished by biological family units in the younger age groups. Only recently as younger Papagos have gone to school and learned white ways have they begun to set up separate households away from their parents.

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162 Families with school-age children are the largest in the labor camps. The average family size for families with school-age offspring only is over 6.[3] The families with both school and pre-school children averaged over 7 individuals.[4] This probably reflects the high mortality rate of smaller children among the Desert People, whose new-born babies have a life expectancy of only 17 years.[5]

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Families with younger parents and all pre-school age children are, of course, smaller, running some 4 individuals, with nearly 2 children per family.[6]

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178 Migration to the cotton fields reinforces the tendency to break up the old Papago extended family into smaller units like our biological family households. This change is most complete among families living in labor camps all the time, having severed their reservation ties more or less completely.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 391.
[2] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 48.
[3] 10 families interviewed with 19 school children, 6.8.
[4] 8 families with 10 school children, 1.25 average, and 14 pre-school, 1.75 average, had 57 persons, 7.125 average, plus.
[5] 8 families with 15 children under 6 had 52 plus people.
[6] Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 12.